

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 234.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1912.



Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

**SHUT YOUR EYES AND OPEN YOUR MOUTH  
AND TAKE WHAT ASQUITH SENDS YOU!**



**DOCTOR A.Q..TH:** There! If you'll take this medicine like good little girls, I won't stop Nurse Gr.y from giving you some Amendment jam afterwards—if there is any jam.

**REBELLIOUS LITTLE GIRL:** No nasty medicine for me, thank you! I mean to have nice medicine that will make me well, and it's there in your pocket!

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
Our Cartoon	769	For the Man in the Street	775
The Outlook	769	Announcements	775
Women and the Law of Divorce	771	W.S.P.U. Deputation to Canadian Premier	776
By H. Musk Beattie	771	Government's High-Handed Action at Holmwood	776
Penal Servitude or Votes?	771	The Forcible Feeding of Suffrage Prisoners	777
The Suffragists in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin	772	W.S.P.U. Answer to Mrs. Pavey	778
Another Protest	772	Holiday Campaign	778
The Cabinet Minister's Holiday	773	Campaign Throughout the Country	779
A Question to Labour M.P.'s	774		
The Early Manner. By W. Pett Ridge	775		
A Call to Irishwomen	775		

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

## THE OUTLOOK

The Irish petition for a reduction of the sentence imposed upon Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, and for their treatment as political offenders, has been refused by the Lord Lieutenant, in spite of the fact that the Irishwomen's Franchise League, which presented the petition, had secured the signatures of some of the most prominent and influential people in Ireland. Lord Aberdeen's answer to the petition will not be taken as final, and the agitation on behalf of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans continues. The Secretary of

the I.W.F.L. has written to Lord Aberdeen to point out that he is acting in opposition to what the *Free-man's Journal*, the official Nationalist organ, describes as the preponderating conviction of Irishmen in regard to the treatment of political prisoners, and she adds:—

In view of the fact that the authorities have already been compelled to release Mrs. Baker when almost at the point of death, it is necessary that the matter should have the immediate attention of your Excellency, unless it is the desire of the Irish Executive that the two remaining English Suffragist prisoners should expiate their offence by undergoing the extreme penalty.

The two prisoners are being forcibly fed. It is understood that Mrs. Leigh's health is already breaking down in consequence.

### The Report on Forcible Feeding

The agony caused by forcible feeding and the serious results from it are described in a preliminary report made by Dr. Agnes Savill, Mr. Mansell Moullin and Sir Victor Horsley. The report shows that forcible feeding is attended both by pain and danger. The official statement that danger to life and health exists only when the victim offers resistance is denied. The report proceeds to show that physical injury has been inflicted during the feeding process, and that there exists serious danger of the injection of food into the lungs and consequent pneumonia and pleurisy. It is further reported that the principles and precautions usually observed in artificial feeding are not

observed in the prison forcible feeding. The effect on stomach and alimentary system is disastrous, but the injury which this treatment does to the nervous system is stated to be the most serious of all. These three eminent medical practitioners conclude their preliminary report by saying:—

In the light of the facts enumerated in this briefly summarised paper, the position of the medical profession in regard to forcible feeding of suffrage prisoners must be considered anew. We cannot believe that any of our colleagues will agree that this form of prison torture is justly described in Mr. McKenna's words as "necessary medical treatment" or "ordinary medical practice."

### Man-Made Law

The *Vigilance Record* for August gives particulars of various cases of White Slavery recently tried and punished in the Law Courts. A man convicted of procuring a child of fifteen for immoral purposes and carnally knowing her (the better to achieve his purpose he had kept her locked up in a bedroom for a week), was sentenced to two years' hard labour. Two men, convicted of importing young girls to England for immoral purposes, were sentenced to six months' hard labour, a sentence equal to that imposed upon Suffragists who have merely broken a window! In another case, Mr. Curtis Bennett decided that nine months' imprisonment (in addition to three months' imprisonment for returning to England after having been deported) was adequate



punishment for a man who had lived upon a woman's immoral earnings, and after ill-using her for months had finally tried to stab her with a knife. Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, because they protested against the degradation of women, have been sent to five years' penal servitude, but two years' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, is the heaviest punishment which can be imposed for entrapping girls and women and selling them into a slavery far more dreadful than men have ever endured since the world began. The law made by men renders men's vices very easy of satisfaction by punishing lightly the traders who catch and purvey the victims. "If the burning of every public building in Dublin would cast a light on these horrible iniquities, I for one would give a vote for that conflagration." So said a speaker at an Irish Suffrage meeting, and so says every other woman worthy of the name.

#### The Shortcomings of the Labour Party

The constitutional Suffragists in their manifesto to the electors of Midlothian state that the Labour Party is "determined to put up a strenuous fight for the enfranchisement of women during the present Session." We should be interested to know upon which facts the statement is based, as up to the present time there has been no real announcement to that effect from the Labour Party itself. Indeed, as Mr. Lansbury has said, the Party has not even decided to oppose the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, should a Woman Suffrage clause not be added in Committee. We are not quite sure that Provost Brown, the Labour candidate for Midlothian, has promised to do this. The last issue of the *Labour Leader* contained two vigorous protests by Labour men against the apathy of the Parliamentary Labour Party where Woman Suffrage is concerned. Said one of these correspondents: "The women have a right to look for more than pious platitudes from us. . . . Let Irishmen disgrace themselves if they will—but let it not be with our help." The other correspondent says:—

So strongly do I feel on the woman's question that, if our party do not act wholeheartedly this session, even to the extent of turning out this contemptible Government if necessary, I shall seriously consider the desirability of withdrawing from the Labour Party and spending my time and money in fighting for the women's cause instead.

#### Mrs. Fawcett's Attack on Militancy

Mrs. Fawcett points to the fortunes of recent Woman Suffrage Bills as a proof that militancy has had an injurious effect on the Parliamentary situation. But what are the facts? Before militancy began years elapsed without any Woman Suffrage Bill being introduced at all, and since it began, the introduction of a Woman Suffrage Bill has become an annual event. Mrs. Fawcett alleges that militancy had a large share in defeating the Conciliation Bill last March, but we would point out to her that her friends, the Labour Members, were responsible for that defeat, because seventeen of them were absent from the division, and fifteen of them did not even take the trouble to secure pairs. Add to this the Government's threat of disruption and its effect on the Nationalist and Liberal Members, and Mrs. Fawcett is provided with reasons enough for the defeat of the Conciliation Bill without laying the blame upon militancy, whose beneficial effect upon the suffrage movement is self-evident.

#### The Parliamentary Position

The second reading division on the Conciliation Bill in 1911, and the second reading division in 1912, are not parallel cases, because in 1911 the Government had given no promise of facilities for the final stages of the Bill. A better comparison can be drawn between the second reading division of this year and the division in 1910, on the question of referring the Conciliation Bill to a Grand Committee, when further progress could be made instead of referring it to a Committee of the whole House, which meant that it would be shelved. The majority against sending the Bill to a Grand Committee was no less than 145. If this is compared with the adverse majority of 14 recorded this session, some progress can be traced. We may add that Mrs. Acland, the wife of a Member of the Government, declares that the Parliamentary position of Woman Suffrage is to-day better than in 1911, and that "Men are keener about it, the various sections in the House of Commons are more united." It would appear from this that recent militancy has had an admirable effect upon the House of Commons. The militants are not yet satisfied, however, because the House of Commons will not be united enough to carry Woman Suffrage unless Government pressure is applied.

#### An Irish Women's Committee for Securing Votes

We have received a letter which appears in this issue from the promoters of an emergency organisation to be known as the "Irish Women's Committee for Securing Votes Under the Home Rule Bill." The work of this Committee will be to secure from Members of Parliament representing constituencies in Great Britain a pledge that they will vote for Mr. Philip Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill. This amendment provides that the Irish Par-

liament shall be elected by the Local Government electors, and would therefore give votes to Irish women on equal terms with Irishmen, since in Ireland the Local Government franchise is precisely the same for both sexes. The task of securing the support of Irish Members for Mr. Snowden's amendment is in the hands of the Irish Women's Franchise League, and the other Irish Suffrage Societies. It is thought necessary, however, to have an organisation of Irishwomen at work on this side of the Channel in support of the amendment, just as the Nationalists, in addition to their organisation in Ireland, have a special organisation for Great Britain. The Secretaries of the Irish Women's Committee for Securing Votes Under the Home Rule Bill are Miss Aileen Connor Smith and Miss Geraldine Lennox. Our Irish readers are asked to communicate with them at 43, Kemsford Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W. Offers of help from those living outside London will, we are informed, be especially welcome.

#### Sir Edward Carson's Conversion

Sir Edward Carson is converted to Votes for Women. That is the only possible interpretation of the fact that women as well as men are to sign the solemn Ulster Covenant. This Covenant to which Ulster women and Ulster men will pledge themselves is that they, women and men alike, "will not accept the Home Rule Bill as the will of the nation, that they will not recognise an Irish Parliament created under that Bill, and will not obey its laws or pay any taxes that may be imposed by it." Since they have invited them to sign the Covenant on equal terms with themselves, Sir Edward Carson and the other Ulster leaders are logically compelled to secure for Ulster women the right to vote for the Imperial Parliament. If they refuse to do this, they stand self-condemned of the meanest of political crimes—that of taking women's help in the hour of danger and crisis and of refusing them the dignity and the protection of the Vote. We prefer to think that Sir Edward Carson supports and is resolved to fight for Votes for Women. Ulster women, remembering Madame Roland's saying that "Having the right to ascend the scaffold, women must also have the right to ascend the tribune," will demand that since they are asked to suffer the consequences of breaking the laws passed by an Irish Parliament, they shall forthwith be given the power to make the laws passed by the Imperial Parliament. Ulster is said to be protesting against "expulsion from the direct protection of the Imperial Parliament." The voteless women of Ulster have never had their protection. Is Sir Edward Carson going to get it for them now?

#### Liberal Attack upon the Government

For Suffragists to accuse the Government of dishonest and treacherous dealing with Votes for Women, is regarded by Mr. Massingham, of the *Nation*, as something very like high treason. Yet the *Nation* brings a precisely similar charge against the Government in connection with the Persian question, and says:—

Persia is bankrupt to-day; she is anarchical. Undoubtedly she lies in ruins. That is Russia's work, done with our assent. Already we have violated our every pledge. We promised in Sir Cecil Spring-Rice's despatch, when the Convention with Russia was concluded, "to assure for ever the independence of Persia," and both Powers agreed "not to allow one another to intervene on the pretext of safeguarding their interests." We declared that Persia "will thus be perfectly free to manage her own affairs in her own way." To-day, as the result of incessant and violent interventions, that independence is gone.

The *Nation* demands that as far as may be the Government's "shameful" action, their "disloyalty" shall be undone, and says of Sir Edward Grey that if he does not respond to this appeal, but continues to be the accomplice of Russia in the destruction of Persia, "his party will no longer keep a place for him amongst its leaders or his country one on its roll of honour." This criticism, appearing in an organ of Liberalism, hardly encourages women to trust the Government or Sir Edward Grey. In fact, with this Government dishonesty began at home, and at women's expense.

#### Deputation to Mr. Borden

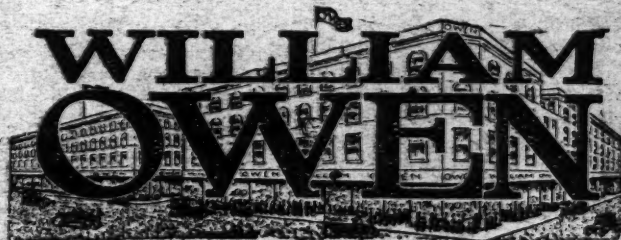
The deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union which waited upon Mr. Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, is fully reported elsewhere. In accordance with the practical policy of the Women's Social and Political Union, Mr. Borden was not asked whether he was personally in favour of Woman Suffrage, the question addressed to him being whether he was prepared on his return to Canada to announce that he would forthwith introduce and carry a measure giving women the vote on the same terms as men. In his reply Mr. Borden stated that in the Canadian constitution the franchise laws of the various provinces were in the entire control of their local Parliaments, a state of things that could only be altered by the control reverting to the Federal Parliament, which held it until fifteen years ago. In reply to a further question he declined to make any pledge that in the event of such a re-arrangement, the Franchise should include women. He concluded by stating that he would give the matter his serious consideration. Mr. Borden's reply cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and upon the subject we shall have more to say hereafter.

#### GENERAL BOOTH AND WOMAN'S EQUALITY

"First and foremost, I insist on Woman's equality," wrote General Booth in 1908. "Every Officer and Soldier should hold to it that Woman is as important, as valuable, as capable, and as necessary to the progress and happiness of the world as man." He had good reason to think well of women's capacity, for of his own wife he said in one of his "messages":—

For thirty-five years she was my trusted counsellor in difficulty, my unfailing encouragement in depression, my unspeakable comfort in sorrow, and my unflinching comrade in difficulty. She was the inspired teacher of our children, the watchful guardian of our home, and the true lover and chaplain of my soul.

This high tribute to her memory is borne out by one small incident that showed the fine militant spirit in the General's wife. It was at the Conference of the Methodist New Connexion in 1861; the case of the General, who had already shown himself something of a rebel, was under discussion, and a weak compromise was suggested to him. His wife rose in the gallery and shouted "Never!" She might have been a Suffragist in a Cabinet Minister's meeting! They went out together to face starvation with their young family, having stood by their principles and saved their honour—and the result was the foundation of the Salvation Army, which has depended so largely upon its women soldiers for success.



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## WOMEN AND THE LAW OF DIVORCE

By H. Musk Beattie

(Second Article.)

### Cruelty

[In the first article on this subject the questions of Domicil, Foreign Marriages, and Grounds for a Dissolution Decree were dealt with.]

It has been decided that the general tests of legal cruelty are bodily injury, reasonable apprehension thereof, or injury to health; that the acts complained of must be of such a nature as to show that further cohabitation is unsafe. Anything short of this, even when coupled with adultery, will not suffice. For instance, in one case, where a husband threatened to cut his wife's throat, but did not accompany the threat with any act of violence, and subsequently, after cohabitation had ceased, broke into the house in which his wife was living, and kicked through her bedroom door, it was held that these acts did not amount to legal cruelty. Indifference, neglect, aversion to a wife's society, and cessation of matrimonial intercourse, without personal violence, even if the husband is carrying on an adulterous intercourse with a servant in the same house in which he is living with his wife, or a recital of his infidelities and preference for other women, do not constitute ground for relief. Vulgar, or even obscene, abuse, or false accusations of various acts of unfaithfulness are not, of themselves, grounds for granting relief to a wife, nor probably is it cruelty for the purpose of divorce proceedings for a husband to so insult his wife in the street as to cause her to be taken to be a prostitute, or, in the absence of acts of violence, to spit in his wife's face. And neither such conduct as would justify her refusal to cohabit with him, nor drunkenness, is alone sufficient to afford ground for relief. In another instance it was decided that constant abuse of and swearing at a wife, together with the refusal to provide delicacies ordered by her doctor, the use of threats towards her, and the wanton beating of her child in her presence on several occasions, did not constitute legal cruelty, "it not appearing that the wife had suffered in health in consequence." It has also been decided that one isolated act of cruelty, however violent, is not sufficient; there must be two or more acts of cruelty supported by corroborative evidence.

### Desertion.

Then, again, with regard to the desertion necessary to be added to the adultery in the absence of cruelty or one of the other offences. It must last for two years or upwards (except when the desertion arises from disobedience to a decree for restitution of conjugal rights). This is very unfair to women. It means that a petition for a dissolution by a woman on the ground of adultery and desertion by her husband cannot be presented with success until the two years have elapsed, because it is essential that the party setting up desertion must have been willing to receive the other back at any time during the whole of the two years; and the presentation of a divorce petition by the wife would be regarded as showing that she was no longer willing to receive her husband back, and she would not be entitled to treat him as continuing to desert her. And if the husband offer to return before the period of two years is complete, and his offer is made "bona fide," it will prevent her setting up desertion for two years from the date of his offer. Similarly, if a wife, before the expiration of the two years, should obtain a separation order under the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act, 1895, it would seem that this prevents her subsequently petitioning for dissolution on the grounds of adultery and desertion without reasonable cause for two years. This position is most unjust from the woman's point of view. Supposing a man deserts his wife, and she is left without means, and possibly with children to maintain. If she cannot keep herself and her children, and is driven by stress of circumstances to obtain an order from the justices for separation under the Act of 1895, she is thereby prejudiced as regards any subsequent proceedings to secure a divorce on the ground of adultery coupled with desertion.

Moreover, the decisions as to what constitutes legal desertion are as detrimental to the interests of women as those determining legal cruelty. For example, it has been decided that the fact that a husband left his wife and cohabited with another woman, visiting his wife only occasionally, did not amount to desertion; nor does the fact that a husband comes and goes merely as a visitor.

### Access to and Custody of Children

With regard to the question of the custody of the children of the marriage of persons, one of whom has obtained a divorce, although the interests of the children are in general the first consideration, yet the same tendency to differential treatment as between men and women is manifest. The Court has special regard to the absolute right, at Common Law, of the father to the custody of the children, and will, as a rule, only allow the mother access to, as distinct from the custody of her children, unless she can give some more cogent reason than her mere natural desire to have them. Then, again, a guilty husband is not of necessity barred of his right to the custody of the children; if he has treated them kindly, they may be left with him, with liberty for the wife to visit them. Very rarely are the children permitted to remain in the custody of a guilty wife. An order for access (in cases where no order is made, or asked for, as to custody), may be made in favour of a husband, even though he is continuing to live in adultery.

### Other Anomalies

If a wife seeks a divorce on the ground of the adultery and bigamy of her husband, she must be able to prove that both offences were committed with the same woman. If her husband has entered into a bigamous union with one woman, and commits the

adultery with another woman, she has no ground for a divorce.

Adultery in the case of a woman will be presumed under circumstances which the law would not deem to justify the like presumption in the case of a man; thus, if a married woman goes to a house of ill-fame with a man, adultery will, as a matter of course, be presumed, whereas in the case of a married man, such a fact would not raise an irrebuttable presumption against him.

Under Section 33 of the Matrimonial Causes Act, 1857, a husband may claim damages against the party who has committed adultery with his wife, but there is no provision which enables an injured wife to obtain any such monetary recompense for the loss of her husband's fidelity.

### Conclusion

The foregoing notes give an indication of the disadvantages under which women find themselves when they seek relief from a matrimonial tie which has become intolerable, or at least irksome.

The effect of the law as it stands is that if a husband merely misconducts himself, and commits no other matrimonial offence, his wife can only obtain a judicial separation, which may be described as a sort of half-divorce, and which puts a premium on immorality.

At a time when the reform of the law of divorce in general is under consideration, certain alterations of the existing law in its relation to women suggest themselves. For instance, in suits for dissolution, the test of residence or nationality, though open to some objections, might with advantage be substituted for that of domicile; and a repetition of the hardship involved in cases where a marriage has been contracted between an Englishwoman and a foreigner should be rendered impossible. Then, again, the just claims of women to the custody of their children should be treated with greater consideration when weighed against the common law right of the father.

But it is even more important that the law should be revised so as to bring women on to an equality with men as regards the grounds upon which a divorce may be decreed; in other words, that adultery in a husband should be regarded by the law as seriously as the same offence in a wife.

The adoption by Parliament of one standard of morality for men and women, and its incorporation in new statutes modifying the existing law, is the end to be achieved.

With regard to matters of divorce, as in other respects, men have legislated for themselves, and the laws when made have been so interpreted by men as to create additional difficulties for the women who are subject to them. The only remedy for the injustices, and the only method of securing the reforms which have been indicated, is that women should have a hand in the making and administering of the laws which they, with men, are called upon to obey; in other words, that the franchise should be granted to women on equal terms with men.

## PENAL SERVITUDE OR VOTES?

A Striking New Poster

The British public, it is well known, always goes to sleep unless its memory is continually jogged. Just now, it is essential that it should not go to sleep and forget that two women have been sent to penal servitude for five years by a Government that refuse to give women the Vote. The following poster has been issued, in purple, white, and green lettering, by the Women's Social and Political Union:—

### Penal Servitude or Votes?

The so-called Liberal Government intends to give the Parliamentary Vote to every boy of 21, but it refuses to give the Vote to any woman, however intelligent or responsible she may be. In order to keep women quiet while this insult is being carried through, the Government is trying to chloroform them with false promises.

This is why women have done as their forefathers did, and have used violence. When justice is done, this violence will stop immediately.

Rather than give women the Vote, this Government has sent one thousand five hundred women to prison, and now they have sent two women, Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans, to five years penal servitude.

THESE TWO BRAVE CONVICTS MUST BE RELEASED, AND VOTES MUST BE GIVEN TO WOMEN; OTHERWISE THIS GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO GO.

This poster should appear everywhere, on blank walls, in windows, on hoardings. We call upon members of the Women's Social and Political Union, who are never deaf to any appeal, to see that this is done by ordering immediately a number of the posters and taking steps to get them well displayed in every neighbourhood all over the British Isles, paying for the space occupied where this is necessary. This is a valuable non-militant piece of work which all can undertake, and which may be of real service in securing the release of our prisoners and the enfranchisement of women. The poster can be had on application to the Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., at the following prices: (1) Four-crown size, 3d. each, post free; (2) double-crown size (30in by 20in), 1½d., post free.

## AN IMPORTANT ADMISSION

The *Times*, in a recent editorial comment on the Government's programme for the Session, says:—

That mockery of electoral reform, the Franchise Bill, proposes an addition to the electorate for which no one has asked, while it omits the only addition for which there is an eager demand.

We value very highly this admission that women want the Vote and are eagerly demanding it.

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# THE SUFFRAGISTS IN MOUNTJOY PRISON, DUBLIN

## Forcible Feeding of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans—Petitions Refused

Our fears on going to Press last week were soon justified by a telegram, received too late for insertion, containing the information that Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans were being forcibly fed in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin.

If any further proof were needed of the grave responsibility undertaken by the Government in resorting to this barbarity and outrage, we have it in the Report on Forcible Feeding drawn up by Sir Victor Horsley and others, and reprinted by us on page 777. The treatment there described and denounced after careful investigation by eminent physicians is the treatment that was practised last Tuesday week upon these two women, who had then fasted a week or more (a fact rendering the process doubly dangerous to life and health), and is still being practised daily upon them now. No wonder that the gravest anxiety is being caused to the prison authorities by the state of Mrs. Leigh's health! When we remember that she has endured this hideous torture before, that she knew all through her long fast, terminating ten days ago, what the end of it would be, thus adding an almost indescribable mental agony to her physical suffering, we cannot easily find words in which to express our admiration for her courage and her loyalty to the principle for the sake of which she and her brave companion are fighting through their dark experience alone in Dublin Prison. For—as no one knows better than the Government—the recognition of woman Suffragists in prison as political offenders is to place them on a political equality with men, and therein lies the whole principle for which Woman Suffragists are fighting, inside and outside prison.

### What is Being Done to Help Them

All possible pressure is being brought to bear from without upon those responsible for this outrage. The Irish Women's Franchise League, as we stated a fortnight ago, sent a petition signed by numbers of influential men and women to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, begging that the "sentences imposed on Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans be greatly reduced and that they be treated as political prisoners." This petition, although receiving such signatures as those of Lady O'Brien, wife of the Lord Chief Justice, the Honourable Georgiana O'Brien, Mr. Tim Healy, K.C., M.P., Mr. George Russell ("A. E."), Mr. James Stevens, Dr. Katherine Maguire, &c., has been refused, the reason given being simply that "the law must take its course." Whose law? The law of man or of Nature? If the latter were meant, and the present treatment of Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans be persisted in, an appeal to that law would be fraught with grave risks indeed.

The stirring poster—"Penal Servitude or Votes?"—which we reproduce on page 771, is being displayed not only in England, but in Ireland; and quantities of leaflets are being circulated in the streets of Dublin, calling upon Irishmen to put a stop to what is happening now in Mountjoy Prison, and denouncing the forcible feeding as "a disgrace to Ireland and a menace to the liberties of Ireland." The leaflet points out how it is particularly the duty of Irishmen to condemn this return

to coercion and to the criminal treatment of political prisoners, and represents that Nationalists, in fighting the battle of these two English Suffragists, are fighting their own battle too, and by failing to champion the women's cause to-day they may find themselves compelled at some future



Miss Gladys Evans as Drummer in the W.S.P.U. Band

date to suffer the same cruel treatment that they are to-day allowing the women to suffer.

Miss Grace Roe, the W.S.P.U. organiser, is in Dublin, and is looking after the interests of the two prisoners. Everything that can be done to help them to fight their battle is being done. Hard as is their case, great as is their suffering, they are bound to win through because they have indomitable courage and their Cause is unassailable.

### MISS GLADYS EVANS

The following extract from a letter written to a friend by Miss Gladys Evans at the time of the Suffrage disturbances in March, when she was still in America, conveys some idea of the spirit in her that made her throw up her work there and return to England later, when she heard of the W.S.P.U. Leaders' imprisonment in June:—

"I have no interest at all here, and only long for my papers; if there was the slightest possibility I should return at once, if only to be in the atmosphere of it all. My nightmare is that I am not with them—I have never stopped longing and aching to be back ever since I left; if I had had only half a whisper of what was coming I should never have come here. . . . In London I should at least be one more unit in the fighting line, which cannot be too strong at this crisis. . . . At present we do not know what we shall really decide to do—I feel I want nothing but the next boat back to do my little best to help all the dear women."

### MRS. BAINES

We are sorry to have to announce that Mrs. Baines is making only very slow progress towards recovery. The effects of her five days' fast have proved even more serious than was at first supposed, and the present state of her health is very far from satisfactory. She is still in a nursing home in Dublin, where she is receiving every care. If this is the result of fasting only, our fears for Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, who fasted still longer and have been forcibly fed for ten days, are gravely increased.



Mrs. Leigh as Drum-Major

## STRONG PROTESTS FROM LIBERALS

The following letter appears in the *Freeman's Journal* of August 27:—

Sir,—Having for many years past done what an English journalist could for Irish Nationalism, may I be allowed space for a demand and a protest which, I think, all Irishmen will welcome? The demand is that Suffragists who have broken the law for their political object should be treated as political offenders. The protest lies against the atrocious process of forcible feeding to which, we are told, two women Suffragists are now being subjected in Mountjoy Prison.

It has been successfully maintained in Ireland that the question whether an offence is political or not does not depend on the nature of the offence, but entirely on its motive, but if the motive is not personal or base, if it aims at some high and public object, such as the extension of freedom or the vindication of the poor, the offender should not be treated as a common felon imprisoned for theft, procuration, or other outrage prompted by personal profit or desire. Even where the crime is assassination the motive should be considered. I am not now speaking of the mitigation of sentence, but of the right of political offenders to special treatment. Even in cases where a capital sentence is passed the political prisoner should be treated differently from the common murderer, and, in my opinion, the condemned man or woman should even be offered the choice between being hanged or shot.

In Ireland, where, owing to political conditions, political offences have been unusually frequent in the past, this distinction will be readily understood, and I hope you will join with me in urging upon the authorities the duty of at once extending "first division" rights to Mrs. Leigh and Miss Evans, the Suffragist prisoners whom I have mentioned.

What is the alternative? It is this barbarous and degrading process of forcible feeding practised upon two women who are claiming their political rights. Such an alternative must be repellent to the whole Irish nature. It is a violation of that spirit of dignity, humanity, and courteous kindness which pervades the Irish people and makes many Englishmen feel that, in coming to your country, they are for the first time coming home. I am convinced that it is as abhorrent to the Irish authorities as to the rest of the people, and I believe they would heartily welcome a protest against its continuance raised by an organ of public opinion like yours.

To end the necessity of this abomination nothing short of the granting of "first division" treatment in prison will avail. Again I ask what is the alternative? Are they going to feed two women by force for five years? Or do they hope by this torture to break down their resolution? If they hope that, they little know the spirit of the women in this movement. Of course, they may kill them or drive them insane, but what will your country think of such a crime? Will you acquiesce in it?—Yours, &c.,

HENRY W. NEVINSON.

### From the "Manchester Guardian"

Sir,—The medical report on "forcible feeding" to which you call your readers' attention is very painful reading. The evidence of the report is clear as to its cruelty, and it required no report to convince of its futility. I think that most unprejudiced people will feel that this practice must be stopped.

The failure of the whole repressive policy pursued by the Government becomes plain when one realises that the prison authorities dare not face the alternative, and are compelled, for fear of public opinion, to cancel the sentence and release their prisoners. Granted these women have broken the law—I cannot dispute that—they have illustrious examples before them. Granted also that they are damaging their own cause, as I think they are, when I remember the enormous strides this question has taken since the Women's Social and Political Union was founded, I recognise that the British public are once more proving that they require some amount of violence to be displayed in a cause before they realise its justice.

The policy of punishment is an absolute failure. The extraordinary thing about the whole matter is that the majority of the Government and the majority of the House of Commons are in favour of the removal of the grievance which would at once put an end to these particular offences and render needless these horrible revenges. It is not too much to say that only one man stands in the way of the adoption of this course. If Mr. Asquith were in favour, the other anti-Suffragists in the Cabinet would not matter much. It is time to ask why one man's will should defeat an act of justice. At least we ought to make it impossible for such tortures as this report describes to be continued.—Yours, &c.,

RICHARD ROBINSON.

## ANOTHER PROTEST

### One Month's Hard Labour for 3s. 6d. Worth of Damage

On Tuesday, August 20, Mrs. Gatty broke a small pane of glass outside the Post Office at Abergavenny, as a protest, to use her own words, "against the exclusion of women from the Reform Bill and in accordance with Mr. McKenna's own pronouncement to his constituents, in which he stated that the disfranchisement of the latch-key voter 'was more than flesh and blood could stand'; and, further, as a protest against Mr. McKenna's whole treatment, as Home Secretary, of the imprisoned Suffragists."

Mrs. Gatty spent the night in Abergavenny Police Station, and came up next morning before the Mayor of Abergavenny, who sentenced her to one month's imprisonment with hard labour—a preposterous sentence, the amount of damage done amounting only to 3s. 6d.! She announced in the court that she should not do the hard labour—and subsequently won her point. The Police Court proceedings seem to have been characterised by all the brutal stupidity and injustice that militant Suffragists have learned to expect in these Courts. The prisoner was not allowed to call certain witnesses for whom she asked; and when she tried to explain her reasons for what she had done she was cut short and ordered to be taken down.

### Treated as a Criminal

Mrs. Gatty was then removed to Usk Prison, where, on her declining as a political offender to give up her possessions, her own clothes were removed by force and she was forcibly clad in prison dress. As a protest against this abominable treatment—at this moment, in Holloway Gaol, Miss Marie Neill, who was also convicted for window-smashing, is being treated under Rule 243a—Mrs. Gatty at once adopted the Hunger Strike, and was forcibly fed on the night of Thursday, August 22, and again on Friday morning. On Friday afternoon the Governor of the prison saw her and informed her that he had the Home Secretary's instructions to remit the hard labour and to place her in the second division under Rule 243a. Her clothes and other possessions were then restored to her, and she was removed late on Friday to Holloway Gaol, where she now is. She is naturally in a very bad state of health, suffering from want of sleep and other ailments attendant on the barbarous process of forcible feeding. We cannot speak too strongly of the action of the authorities in inflicting this torture upon Mrs. Gatty. In her case the risks of forcible feeding were doubled by the fact that as recently as June 28, after enduring the hunger strike and feeding by force, she was released almost in a dying condition, and it was only after being some time in a nursing home that her health was in any measure restored.

### In Abergavenny Police Court

On Wednesday, August 23, Mrs. Gatty appeared in Abergavenny Police Court to answer the charge of doing wilful damage to a pane of glass at the Post Office.

Mrs. Gatty: I plead not guilty, but I admit breaking the window.

Frederick Thomas stated that he saw prisoner between the bank and the Post Office on Tuesday evening. Prisoner pulled her arm out from under her pocket, drew out a small hammer which was tied to her wrist, and broke a small pane of glass outside the Post Office. She then said, "I want to be arrested."

Mrs. Gatty: Did I say, "I want to be arrested?" Yes.

Or did I say "You will probably have to send for a policeman to arrest me?" No.

The Mayor (Mr. Marsh): It is not a very material point.

Mrs. Gatty: There is a great difference, your worship.

A postman and the postmaster then gave evidence, the latter estimating the damage done at 3s. 6d.

Mrs. Gatty: I wish to call two witnesses.

The Clerk: Did you break the glass wilfully? I broke the glass—not wilfully, because I think no sane person would wish to break glass wilfully; but I broke the glass deliberately, as a franchise protest. I wished to call witnesses in order to prove exactly how the thing was done and what I said and what I didn't say.

The Clerk: The Bench don't want to hear that.

Mrs. Gatty: The reason I committed the offence was because it was August 20—the last day upon which persons might claim to be included upon the political register to vote for Members of Parliament, and that was the reason I did it yesterday.

Mr. Marsh: The case is adjourned, as you won't obey the ruling of the Court. Take her down!

Mrs. Gatty: May I understand what that means? When do I come up for trial again?

Mr. Marsh: You advance no reason in mitigation of the offence.

Mrs. Gatty: In mitigation of my offence, I have to say that so long as women are excluded from the Parliamentary franchise—

The Clerk: We don't want to hear that. Very well, there is nothing further for me to say.

Mr. Marsh: The Bench find you guilty, and you will be sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour.

"I shall not do the hard labour of course," said Mrs. Gatty.



# THE CABINET MINISTER'S HOLIDAY

## MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT MARIENBAD

The following announcements appeared in the Press last week:—

Elaborate arrangements are being made for the protection of Mr. Lloyd George against a repetition of the attentions paid him on Wednesday by a number of Suffragists. The police are determined to expel any person who attempts to annoy the British Chancellor during his stay in Marienbad; in addition, a number of English detectives have arrived, and Mr. Lloyd George is secretly followed whenever he leaves the hotel. *Daily Herald.*

Karlsbad, August 22.

Owing to the presence in Marienbad of some Suffragists, who yesterday made a hostile demonstration against Mr. Lloyd George, who is staying there, special precautions have been taken to guard the Chancellor against any further attacks in the future. *Reuter.*

Some Marienbad ladies, who are presumed to be English Suffragists, yesterday sent to Mr. Lloyd George a bouquet tied with ribbons in the British national colours, bearing the legend in English "Votes for Women." *Standard.*

## A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

We are glad to be able to publish the following true account of the "hostile demonstration," in consequence of which Mr. Lloyd George thinks it necessary to be guarded like the Czar of Russia:—

Two Suffragists, in the course of a tour through Germany, reached the town of Marienbad, where they intended to spend the week-end. On looking down the visitors' list they saw the names of "Lord Lloyd George" and "Sir Isaac Rufus." Guessing that these were intended to designate two English Cabinet Ministers, they hoped they would have an opportunity before leaving of greeting their countrymen in that far-off land. A little later, they came upon a group of three, looking into a jeweller's window, and recognized the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Rufus Isaacs and Lady Isaacs. One of the two Englishwomen at once went up to them, and the following conversation took place:—

Suffragist: "Surely this is Mr. Lloyd George? How do you do? I don't know if you will remember me; I have spoken to you several times before. I am so pleased to have this opportunity of asking you—When are you going to put your principles into practice and give the women of England the vote?"

Chancellor: "Well, I can't do anything here and now, anyway."

Suffragist: "No, but you can spend your holiday thinking about it, and you can both set to work and help us to get it when you return."

Chancellor: "Look here, do you think you can get a Franchise Bill as you can ask for a German sausage in a shop here?"

Suffragist: "No, we are not fools. But it took you little enough time to get through a Bill giving M.P.'s £400 a year."

Chancellor: "The Chartists were fighting for that sixty years ago, before you or I were born. We have fought for fifty years for Welsh Disestablishment and have not got it yet."

Suffragist: "Nor will you, until the women help you."

Chancellor: "You women are ruining your chances by chattering bricks about. I suppose you are a militant?"

Suffragist: "Most certainly. But didn't those Chartists of whom you spoke just now use militant methods? Would men have got the vote without the riots of 1832? The history books say not."

Chancellor: "Oh—well—ah! Now, look here, do you think that if Welshmen today went chattering bricks about they'd get Disestablishment?"

Suffragist: "They should not use militancy because they have a constitutional weapon—the vote. But, even so, what example do they set us? What do the miners, the strikers, and the Irish do?"

Chancellor: "Anyway, you ask the Attorney-General here. He voted for the Conciliation Bill. I voted against it. I always was against it. We went into different lobbies. He'll tell you you ruined your chances by militancy."

Sir R. I.: "Quite true—just so."

Chancellor: "Instead of taking advice from those who know something of politics, you women have had no experience—you know nothing of political life. I grant you're a very clever lot—but this time you are ruining your chances again with your militancy."

Suffragist: "I thought you told us at Bath that you had torpedoed the Conciliation Bill?"

Chancellor: "Yes. I always was against it. I did say so."

Suffragist: "Then, if you had already torpedoed it, how could our militancy ruin it afterwards?"

Chancellor: "Well, you'll get nothing while you go round throwing hatchets at people."

Suffragist: "I grant that these actions are very serious. We are in a very critical position. Women's patience is utterly exhausted. The Union cannot now be held responsible for actions of this kind that may take place. Why do you not put your own publicly expressed principles into practice and stop all militancy

by giving the women the vote? The responsibility for militant action rests upon such men as you, who, by your continual betrayal of their trust and your flagrant lack of principle, drive the women to use the only weapon possible, and that is militancy."

Chancellor: "Well, you've talked pretty plainly to me—I'll talk plainly to you. Some of you women are nothing but a set of lunatics, and I'll do nothing for you. Good afternoon."

"You'll have no peace in all the country until women have got the vote," called the Suffragist after the three rapidly vanishing figures.

That night, a neat little brown paper parcel was left at the hotel door, to be taken carefully to Mr. Lloyd George. When the wrapper was removed, a white cardboard box was disclosed, bearing upon the lid and upon all sides, within and without, labels stamped with the magic words, "Votes for Women." When the purple and green tissue paper was taken off, a pretty purple and white tumbler with white handle was revealed, adorned with a tiny bow of green ribbon. By it lay a green glass drinking-tube, decorated with a bow of purple ribbon. These two implements are familiar to all who drink the waters at Marienbad. A fitting present to send, surely, symbolising the need for political purification!

Sunday morning dawned gloriously. The two Suffragists, setting out with light hearts, soon saw on the other side of the road the three whom they had greeted the day before. They at once crossed over, but they had been already seen, and the two gentlemen had their hats in their hands and the Suffragists were greeted with three punctilious bows and much amused smiles. One of them had just time to greet Mr. George as he hurried past. Sir Rufus Isaacs ran back, laughing heartily, and said: "I say! That was an awfully pretty present you sent Mr. George last night. I think it was just splendid." "It was pretty, wasn't it? Do persuade him to use it; the motto may do him good!" was their reply.

On Monday morning the two visitors were early astir. As they started out, they saw two furtive figures coming along the other side of the road. The two Ministers saw them from afar and raced past, their hats raised. The Suffragists had only time to say: "Don't forget our warning," and then saw them "spring" up the steep hill and round the corner. Realising that further conversation was unlikely, they then posted the following letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

"As you have been staying in the midst of such grandeur and beauty, we cannot help hoping that its influence has helped to drive out some of the petty meanness and small self-conceit that has been allowed to warp your judgment in the past where the woman's movement has been concerned. Whilst you are enjoying your holiday, think of the men and women suffering imprisonment for the cause for whose delay you are partly responsible. When you return to England, strengthened in mind and body, show yourself the democrat that you profess to be, put your principles into practice, and put a stop to this terrible struggle in the only way possible, by bringing in a Government measure for Woman Suffrage."

## A FAREWELL GIFT

As flowers are a usual parting gift at Marienbad, they next purchased a fine glorioxa, whose rich blooms shaded from dark purple to pure white. This they placed in a green and white straw basket surrounded by purple and white tissue paper. Round the outside of the basket they stuck "Votes for Women" medallions; on the handle were sewn two pieces of paper similarly stamped, and more medallions. Then the words "Votes for Women" were cut out from labels and stuck on all the small leaves, carefully arranged in the right sequence. Down the veins of the largest leaves were pasted slips, bearing the same legend. The effect was quite lovely—too lovely to be wasted on one who cannot even realise the beauty of human nature—so a label was attached to the handle saying: "Give votes to women and the flowers to Lady Isaacs." Proudly carrying their pretty burden, the Suffragists again called at the hotel at which these other visitors were staying. Having left their gift in the charge of the amazed hotel porter, they calmly proceeded to catch their train. At the station a last message was sent. A gummed medallion was stuck on to a piece of paper, below was written the cryptic word—"Remember." The envelope was closed, sealed with another label, and sent on its way. The train steamed off, bearing two women happy in the knowledge that they had once more had the opportunity of bringing before members of the English Government—even in far-off Austria—the urgency of woman suffrage. *G. A. R.*

A drinking glass in the purple, white, and green colours of the Women's Social and Political Union was sent through the post to the Chancellor. Apparently Mr. Lloyd George has entered into the spirit of the joke, for he is now to be seen daily at the spa drinking the waters from the brightly coloured vessel presented by the ladies deputed to harass him. *Morning Post.*

## SIR EDWARD GREY AT FALLODEN

Sir Edward Grey was again reminded of the claims of women to be counted among his constituents when he was presented with his portrait, on August 21, by the Liberal electors of Berwick-on-Tweed. The *Daily Telegraph* thus describes the incident:—

In view of the fact that the Foreign Secretary had been held up by Suffragists on Sunday while leaving Embleton Church, and that several were known to be in the district, careful precautions were taken, but nevertheless two women managed to get through the cordon of police, and as soon as Sir Edward rose at once interrupted. They were quickly seized by the stewards and removed from the grounds, Sir Edward Grey appealing to the spectators not to treat them roughly.

According to other accounts, the two women were very roughly handled, one of them having her dress and veil torn, while the crowd, composed mainly of Liberals, threatened to duck them in the pond.

The *Daily Express* published a photograph of the dense crowd, and underneath it the words, "Find the Suffragette." It gave one some idea of the courage needed to raise a hostile cry in the midst of such a gathering.

The following account has been sent to us by the lady who vainly tried to put a question to Sir Edward Grey:—

Future generations would look at the portrait and say, "Here was a man." This was the finishing sentence of Sir Francis Blake's long speech of eulogy as he presented Sir Edward Grey with his portrait as we stood on the lawn at Fallo-den last Wednesday. Sir Francis was somewhat wandering in his remarks; he occasionally lost the thread, and his thoughts appeared to be elsewhere, for it was rumoured in the neighbourhood that twenty-five Suffragettes intended to be present. Only two were necessary, however, to set the whole company of some hundreds of people in a turmoil. "Here was a man"—and immediately, a voice was heard, "Why has Sir Edward Grey betrayed the trust of the women?" As soon as the fatal word "women" was uttered the speaker was seized, hustled, felled to the ground, picked up again, while she begged a man with a baby in his arms, who was beside himself with fury, to take care of his child. Finally, she was firmly grasped by each arm and escorted

out of the grounds, followed by her sister, who had vainly attempted to make herself heard in the din. What she had attempted to say was merely "Why has Sir Edward Grey betrayed the trust of the women by failing to use his power as a Cabinet Minister to get Votes for Women included in the Franchise Bill?" This question, or anything like it, is insupportable in any Liberal gathering where a Cabinet Minister is present, and woe betide the person who dares to ask it! Still, it cannot be pleasant for two gentlemen to stand on a platform and see women brutally ill-used by the mob when they know the women have justice and right on their side, and that their failure to deal with the question is producing such scenes all over the country every day. *J. A.*

## LORD HALDANE NOT FORGOTTEN

### The Writing on the Gate

Lord Haldane, the Lord Chancellor, has done his full share as an individual, in addition to sharing the responsibility which belongs equally to all members of the Cabinet, in goading women to adopt desperate measures in fighting for the Vote. During the whole of his long Parliamentary career he has been—in words—a supporter of Votes for Women. When the time for action comes he has consistently refrained from rendering the real help to the cause which his position in the Government has made so splendidly possible. He has taunted the women with using "a policy of pin-pricks," suggesting that really serious violence was justifiable. He has connived with the rest of the Cabinet in their attempt to frustrate the women's movement by introducing a Franchise Bill carefully designed to give votes to men and exclude women. Last of all, he has had the extraordinary effrontery to sign a manifesto protesting against the methods to which his inaction and hypocrisy have driven women, and which he might reasonably be expected to welcome as some advance on "a policy of pin-pricks."

These considerations were probably what influenced the unknown Suffragettes who, apparently during Sunday night last, pasted to the gates of Lord Haldane's residence, Cloan House, Perthshire, a large notice in purple and green lettering. It ran as follows:—

"Lord Haldane says he wants Woman Suffrage. He has done nothing to bring it about. Thus he deliberately drives women to fight for themselves. Then he dares to criticise their methods!"

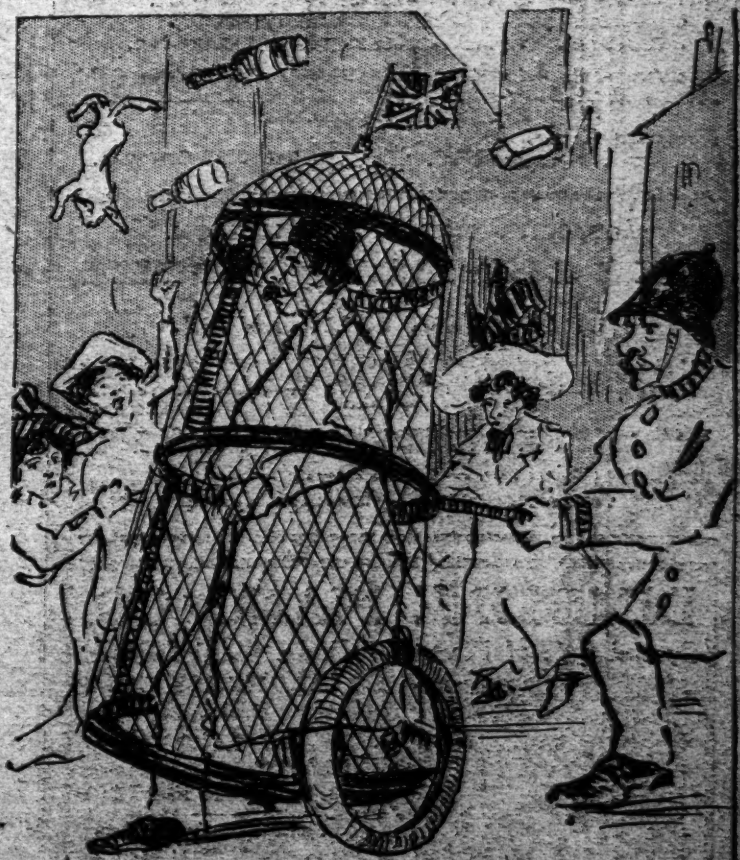
M. P.

## SOME PRESS COMMENTS

### A GERMAN ACCOUNT

A week or two ago it was reported that Mr. Lloyd George meant to spend his recess in Patagonia, a delightful and remote land to which he was invited by a colony of his Welsh fellow-countrymen. He did not go. But probably he is sorry now that he did not turn his face to the South, for a Vienna telegram informs us to-day that a bevy (is it an allowable word?) of Suffragettes have followed him to Bohemia, and are conducting hostile operations on his doorstep. In any case, it is evident a Ministerial holiday policy requires to be thought out. Either masterful action or great cunning is called for. Mr. Churchill, who is understood to be inspecting the high seas, which it is his duty to rule as the official representative of Britannia, on board the *Enchantress*, may be said to have adopted the masterful policy. Unless he approaches within swimming distance of the shore he is safe from invasion by the horrid formula that is pursuing his colleague. Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George is one of the people who do not sail well, who, instead of breakfasting happily on shipboard, have to admit, like the Frenchman of story, that their experience is "on the contrary." In that case his only recourse is a policy of guile. With the approach of the recess paragraphs will appear in the papers to the effect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer intends to spend his holiday in Tristan da Cunha and then the Chancellor will go to Greenland and study glaciers in happy quiet. The subsequent arrival of the Suffragette deputation at Tristan da Cunha will be an event worth chronicling. *Dundee Advertiser.*

Suffragettenangriffe gegen Lloyd George in Marienbad.—Der englische Schatzkanzler Lloyd George weilt seit einigen Tagen in strengstem Inkognito in Marienbad. Gestern gelang es zwei Suffragetten seinen Aufenthaltsort ausfindig zu machen. Sie bezogen sich in das Hotel und strichen mit einem Rotstift seinen Namen von der Fremdentafel. Dann machten sie sich auf die Suche nach dem Schatzkanzler, den sie unterwegs auf einem Spaziergange trafen. Als sie seiner ansichtig wurden, riefen sie laut "Votes for Women," und versuchten den Schatzkanzler anzugreifen, der sich nur durch schleunige Flucht in einen Wagen retten konnte.—From the *Berliner Tageblatt*.



Cage for English Cabinet Ministers (From a drawing in the Swedish paper, "AFTONBLADET")



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## VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1912

### A QUESTION TO LABOUR M.P.'s

It is time for women to enquire as to the Parliamentary action which Labour is going to take in support of Votes for Women. We use the word action advisedly, because mere words are of no more worth when uttered by Labour politicians than when they are uttered by Liberal or Unionist politicians. Mr. J. R. Macdonald, chairman of the Labour Members, at meetings is heard to declare with all possible vehemence that he and his colleagues will use all their influence to get Votes for Women included in the Manhood Suffrage Bill now before Parliament. That is all very well, but what are you going to do, ask the members of the Women's Social and Political Union? Hitherto, with three exceptions, the Labour Members have done nothing more than the average Liberal or Unionist Member of Parliament who professes to believe in Votes for Women.

The Labour Members are responsible for the rejection of the Conciliation Bill last March. The Conciliation Bill was rejected by a majority of 14 votes. Seventeen Labour Members were absent from the Division, and fifteen of these were unpaired! Those who represent mining constituencies will perhaps urge in self-defence that the coal strike called them away; but the coal strike need not have prevented them from securing pairs, nor would a few extra hours spent in performing their Parliamentary duty have injured the interests of their male constituents. Considering that the day originally allotted to the Conciliation Bill had been taken for the purpose of discussing the coal strike, the miners' representatives were under a special obligation of honour to stay and record their vote for the Bill. We know that they would have done so if it had been a Government measure, and if the Chief Liberal Whip had come to them begging them to stay and vote in order to prevent a Government defeat.

So much for the past action of the Labour Party! What of their action in the future? The Government have introduced and are trying to carry through a scheme of votes for all men, and for men only. In order to send the supporters of Woman Suffrage on a false scent, the Government say that if the House of Commons adopts an unofficial amendment to give votes to women, they will accept it as an integral part of their Bill. While making this promise, the Government have taken steps to escape its fulfilment by giving Liberal supporters and their Nationalist allies to understand that in order to prevent the disruption of the Government the proposal for Votes for Women must be defeated by the House of Commons.

The only way to get the Vote for women is to insist that the Government shall themselves intro-

duce a clause giving women the Vote under their Franchise Bill. The Labour Members have the power to compel the Government to introduce such a clause. We call upon them to use that power. The Government cannot exist without the votes of the Labour Members. On a Division the Labour votes count 82. The majority on the first reading of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill was only 78, and on the second reading 81! The Government's majority on the amendment to exclude Ulster from the Home Rule Bill was only 69. The Appropriation Act was carried by 29 votes. These figures prove it to be literally true that the Government hold office by leave of the Labour Party, and that the Labour Members could quickly bring their existence to an end.

It is the duty of the Labour Members to hold a political pistol to the head of the Government and to say, "Votes for Women or your life!" This duty they display an amazing reluctance to perform. Are they afraid of a General Election? We are convinced that if they delivered an ultimatum on the subject of Votes for Women, the Government would yield and would insert the desired clause in their Franchise Bill. But supposing they did not yield, and the Labour Members, voting it might be in Committee on the Home Rule Bill, defeated them, and a General Election ensued, then we say that at that election Labour candidates would fare much better than they will at an Election coming at the end of a Parliament in which they had connived at the Government's betrayal of women.

Perhaps the Labour Members' excuse for playing the Government's game will be that they fear to imperil Home Rule. That excuse will not serve them. If there is a conflict of interest between Home Rule and Votes for Women, Mr. Redmond is to blame, because instead of urging the Government to give votes to women in Ireland and elsewhere, he has actually conspired with them to prevent that reform. The Labour Members' first care should be for the working women of their own land. They hold the view, and their Party is based upon it, that political power is the means to economic freedom. It will, therefore, be criminal on their part to acquiesce any longer in the disfranchisement of the women workers. That Woman Suffrage is far more important than Home Rule is obvious when it is remembered that in the whole of Ireland there are only 1,198,000 adult men, whereas in Great Britain and Ireland together there are 13,384,000 adult women. Surely the interests of 13,384,000 persons are to be preferred to the interests of 1,198,000, especially as Irishmen have already the right to send representatives to the Imperial Parliament, while women have no political power at all.

The Labour Members being responsible for the Government's existence, are responsible for the Government's action, and they will be responsible for the enactment of a measure giving votes to men only. The Labour Members cannot get rid of their responsibility by merely voting for unofficial amendments, forty-one votes will not carry an amendment, but forty-one votes will, as we have shown, bring the Government to their knees.

Women have the right to ask, and they do ask this question of Mr. Macdonald and his Labour colleagues in the House of Commons, "Will you vote against the Government, when Parliament reassembles, until they either undertake to introduce a Votes for Women clause or are driven from office?" If the Labour Members refuse to pursue this anti-Government policy, and will do no more than repeat their promise to vote for unofficial amendments, then we put this further question, "Supposing women are not included in the Franchise Bill, which then becomes finally and irrevocably a Bill for Manhood Suffrage only, do you intend in violation of your principles to continue for the next two years to keep in office the Government who are promoting this iniquitous measure?"

This question of future policy cannot be ignored. The problem of Votes for Women will not be solved for the Labour Party on the day the Manhood Suffrage ship sets sail, leaving the women behind. Even if at present they are tempted to rely on the amendment excuse so thoughtfully provided by Mr. Asquith, the time will come when that excuse will avail them no longer. There will then be nothing left for them to do but to cleanse their hands by defeating the Government who are doing the evil work of giving votes only to men. To attack the Government now, while there is yet time to get women included in the Franchise Bill, is obviously the better course for Labour to pursue.



# THE EARLY MANNER

By W. Pett Ridge

"One question only, before I go out of this house, in search of a peace and a quietness and a general harmony that's denied to me in my own dwelling. What I want to ask you is, whose fault is it that every now and again we seem to burst out into argument like this?"

"Yours!" she replied, promptly.

"And to think," said her husband, going to the fireplace; "to think that only eight years ago—"

"Leave off shifting the things about on the mantelpiece. Put the photograph down!"

"You was a pretty girl then, Bella."

"We've both changed," she remarked. "People can't expect to keep their figure as the years go on."

"Figures may alter," said Mr. Watson, still absorbed by the photograph. It had been taken by Libbis, of Brixton Road, at a time, dated by head-gear, when he considered seven shillings for six not too great a price for the record of a happy couple. "Figures may alter," he repeated; "they may change from the figure one to the figure eight—that can't be helped. What can be prevented, and what ought to be prevented, is a change in a woman's disposition towards her lawful married husband."

"How are you going to set about it?"

"I'm no good at conjuring tricks. They're out of my line. But if I could get a favour—"

"I'm sure you mean to break that Japanese ornament."

"I've said it many times before, and I say it again, that if I could get a favour by asking, I should ask that you might be just as you was in your manner to me in, say, the first six months of our married life." She watched him carefully. "Yes, I know," he went on, "it's too much to expect. Miracles," replacing the ornament, "miracles don't happen nowadays to any considerable extent."

His wife turned suddenly.

"That's more like it," he said, accepting her affectionate embrace. "Only mind my clean collar." She kissed the top of his head, at the spot where the least disarrangement advertised the fact that he was becoming bald. Pushing her aside, he went to the small mirror hanging on the wall, and repaired the mischief carefully. He discovered her looking at him with an enraptured expression.

"What's wrong with me?" he demanded.

"You are absolutely perfect!" cried his wife.

He could not keep back a sigh of satisfaction at the compliment; there was something in her tones that carried conviction. She took his pipe, and, finding the pouch, filled it as she had done in younger days; but she packed it so tightly that he had to pick the tobacco out again and fill it in his own way. His wife brought a hassock near to his easy chair, and, resting her chin upon his knee, gazed up at him admiringly, and talked in terms of adoration. It was when she spoke of his pure, beautiful brown eyes that he yawned and announced his intention of going down by car to the Working Men's Club. Mrs. Watson, as he left, declared it broke her heart to be separated from him, even for a brief period.

"Guess who?" challenged a voice. Two hands covered his face as he took an outside seat on the car.

"Stop it!" he cried, irritably. "Not so much tomfoolery. Whatever induced you to follow me?"

"Because I knew you'd like it," she answered. "Haven't you a kiss for your dear little wife?"

"Since you ask the question," replied Mr. Watson, frowning at the other passengers, "since you ask the question, I ain't."

"Let me put your hat on straight for you, darling."

"Look 'ere!" defiantly. "Whether you're aware of it or not, you're making me look like a fool. Making your husband a laughing-stock. At your age you ought to have more sense."

"A woman never out-lives her first love," she remarked sentimentally.

"And don't scrouge so!" he protested. "There's plenty of room. Take the seat behind."

"A wife's place is beside her husband."

"All very well as a general argument, but—"

"Dearest," she said in a languid way, "if anybody should ever come between us and take your love away from me I really think I should jump right over into the Regent's Canal. There'd be nothing to live for. I should just fade away like a flower. I should give it all up. I'd like you to fix definitely on Kensal Green for me, dear, if you didn't mind."

"You're arguing on a suppositious case," he contended, "and you're talking just as silly as you use to when you were young. Whoever has the least idea that anyone's coming between us?"

"Promise me no one ever shall. Promise that even when I'm gone you'll never forget me. Promise!"

"Promise her, old man," counselled a passenger at the back, speaking over Watson's shoulder, "promise her, and then I can get on with my evening paper."

She remained silent, to her husband's great relief, until the car went by the park. There she looked through the gateway and in the direction of the bandstand.

"You remember, sweetheart?" she whispered, leaning her head near to his shoulder. "What was that tune you used to hum when we were courting?"

"I want to talk to you," he said. "I want to talk seriously. I want to know what's the cause of all this change. I don't wish to have a row, although I'd sooner have the occasional argument we both need to enjoy than all this sentimental nonsense you're indulging in at present."

"It's a mystery!" she replied, in a dreamy way. "Mysteries can generally be cleared up by applying the principles of commonsense. There must be some explanation."

"The lady next door—"

"I forbid you to mention her name to me ever again."

"I'm not mentioning her name, dear; I'm only referring to her."

"Then," taking up another argument, "then leave off stroking my arm. What about her?"

"You'd only laugh!"

"I'm not likely to be amused at anything she says."

The conductor gave to Mr. Watson as they alighted at their destination, a wink signifying friendliness as man to man and sympathy in trying circumstances. The idea of calling at the club had to be relinquished, and they walked home arm-in-arm, despite Mr. Watson's protests. "S'pose we should meet anyone I know?" he pointed out. Their neighbour caught sight of them, and exchanged a nod with Mrs. Watson. The two went indoors.

"What's become of that Japanese ornament?"

"I've put it away, darling," she replied.

"But you weren't short of money! And don't keep on calling me 'darling.' Makes my head ache."

"I mean, dear," she explained, "that I've hid it. Give your little wife a good hug."

"I liked the look of that on the shelf," he declared, ignoring the invitation. "Bought it from a chap down at the Docks when I was on a job there, a foreign chap, and I'd got attracted to it. Go and fetch the ornament and put it back where it was."

"Your word, dear, is law to me."

Small satisfaction in taking up an argumentative tone when the other party declined to discuss a question. The joy of getting the best of a strenuous debate was something; the defeat of an opposition that refused to oppose was nothing.

"The lady next door," she remarked, on coming back to the room, "says that she's read somewhere in a book—"

"She's always reading books," remarked Watson, disparagingly.

"That if some people had this Japanese ornament—some people, mind—it would grant them two favours. Only two!"

"What of it?"

"I couldn't help remembering," here she placed her arm around his neck, "that all this change you've noticed, dearest, came from the moment you touched it and said you wished I could be as I was—"

Mr. Watson wrenched himself free and snatched at the Japanese ornament. As he held it, he frowned with the effort of concentrating thoughts.

"Now then, clumsy!" she cried. He could not conceal his satisfaction in noting, in the return of her old manner, the immediate success of his experiment. "Look what you've done."

"It slipped, Bella."

"Slipped?" she echoed. "It's a pity you can't smash yourself all to pieces in the self-same manner. Get out of the way, do!"

Over the fence dividing back gardens she spoke to the lady next door. The other asked eagerly whether her suggestion had worked out well, and Mrs. Watson—replying in the affirmative, and mentioning that it had cured her husband of continually harping on the past—declared thankfully that if the lady next door ever ran short of eggs or anything else required in a hurry for breakfast, she was to be sure to come to her.

## A CALL TO IRISH WOMEN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Will you kindly allow us space to draw attention to the grave danger of the passage of a Home Rule Bill granting further rights of citizenship to men, and altogether ignoring the claims of Irishwomen. Some Irish Suffragists in London, therefore, propose that an emergency organisation be formed, entitled "Irishwomen's Committee for Securing Votes under the Home Rule Bill." This association will unite Irishwomen all over England, and will have sub-committees in every possible constituency for the purpose of gaining the support of local M.P.'s for Mr. Snowden's amendment. The association will be entirely non-party, and will have no connection with any Suffrage Society. The committee must be formed and the work in full swing by the time M.P.'s return from their holidays. The brunt of the fight for the political emancipation of their sex depends for the moment on Irishwomen; therefore we appeal most earnestly to them to come forward and work their hardest to get this amendment through. Names of all those willing to help in the ways suggested should be sent to us at address below. Contributions towards expenses will also be welcome, and will be acknowledged in VOTES FOR WOMEN.—Yours, &c.,

AILEEN CONNOR SMITH.

L. GERALDINE LENNOX.

43, Kempsford Gardens, Earl's Court, London, S.W.

## A MILITANT ARGUMENT

"There is no use," an Irish Unionist once said in the House of Commons, "in any Irishman approaching an English Minister on Irish questions unless he comes with a head of a landlord in one hand, or the tail of a cow in the other." It was in this way the Land League came, and we all now know the Land League triumphed! "I must make one admission," said Mr. Gladstone in 1893, "and that is, that without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not now be on the Statute Book."—From "The Life of Parnell," by R. Barry O'Brien.



In this column we propose, during the holiday season, when VOTES FOR WOMEN touches a new circle of readers, to answer some of the questions that present themselves to the minds of those not yet convinced of the urgency of Woman Suffrage.

**Question 1.—If women get the vote, will they be prepared to give up the privileges they now enjoy, and to accept the burdens of citizenship?**

**Answer.**—This question implies two suppositions, both false: (1) That all women now lead a comfortable, sheltered existence, supported by men. This is true only of a very limited number of women, and their economic position is not an assured one as long as it depends upon a husband or father who may at any moment lose his fortune, or die and will it away from them. (2) That women do not now bear the burdens of citizenship. This is totally untrue. As long as women are voteless, and are forced to pay taxes and to obey laws over which they have no control, they are bearing the burdens of citizenship without enjoying its privileges. Women, in demanding the Vote, are not seeking to evade responsibility; they will cheerfully accept even more than is forced upon them already, if it carries with it the political freedom of their sex and all the benefits accruing from political freedom.

**Question 2.—Will women be prepared to serve on juries?**

**Answer.**—Not only prepared, but glad to do so. Every day a larger number of women are becoming convinced that it is impossible for a jury composed of men only, however well-intentioned these may be, to give a fair verdict where women are concerned. Only when juries are composed of men and women together will the point of view of both be represented and perfect justice be possible.

**Question 3.—Will not this encourage women to invade all men's professions, and lead them to choose unwomanly occupations?**

**Answer.**—We dealt with this subject fully last week, and will only add here that this depends on the definition of "unwomanly occupation." If it means an occupation that is at present monopolised by men, and is pleasant and well paid, and one that women can perform, women will naturally choose that occupation in preference to many that are now thrust upon them because they have little or no choice in the matter. If, on the other hand, it means one that no woman can perform, women will most certainly not choose that one. It is not suggested that the Vote will enable women to achieve the impossible, though a more enlightened spirit in these matters may enable the public to see that some occupations now open to women are unfitted for them, while others from which they are debarred by custom and prejudice are eminently suited to them.

**Question 4.—Is there not a danger that if women are economically independent they will no longer want to marry?**

**Answer.**—If women only marry now because they are starved into it, the sooner this state of things is altered the better it will be for the race, to say nothing of the happiness of the wife and the dignity of the husband. Fortunately, there are higher reasons than this for which women marry now, although their economic helplessness might well, and in some cases does, induce them to marry only for a livelihood. The woman's Vote, as we have often said, will not alter human nature; on the contrary, it will give human nature a chance.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

The weekly free meetings in London have been discontinued for the summer recess. They will be resumed on Monday afternoon, October 7, and Thursday evening, October 10.

### Prisoners' Secretary

All inquiries with regard to prisoners should be addressed to Miss Winifred Mayo, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.

### Royal Albert Hall, London, Thursday, October 17

Every indication points to a crowded meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, October 17, at 8 p.m. (The meeting will take the form of a welcome to the Leaders of the W.S.P.U., and will be in honour of them and all the Suffragists who have suffered imprisonment in 1912.) All the arena seats are now sold out, and only a small number of amphitheatre stalls at 2s. 6d. are left. Ticket prices: Boxes, grand tier (to hold ten), £1 10s.; loggia (to hold eight), £1 1s.; second tier (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; balcony, first six rows, 1s.; two back rows, 6d. (all numbered and reserved); upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d., may be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, W.C.



# W.S.P.U. DEPUTATION TO CANADIAN PREMIER

A week ago Miss Barrett, as reported in our last issue, wrote to Mr. Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, asking him to receive a deputation on Woman Suffrage from the Women's Social and Political Union and from those interested in the question in the Dominion. This request Mr. Borden refused on the ground of lack of time. In a second letter Miss Barrett, after reiterating her request, continued thus: "Our Society has been instrumental in raising the question in this country to the forefront of practical politics, and the reluctance of the Prime Minister to receive deputations or to deal with the question, has caused it to be a menace to the future existence of the Government and a source of some personal inconvenience to its individual members. We cannot but think that it would be of material advantage to the Cause we represent, and if I may venture to say so, to yourself as Prime Minister of a Colony which contains branches of our Society, if we were allowed personally to present our views to you in deputation and to receive your own in return. An interview in which a certain amount of discussion would take place is, in our opinion, much more fruitful of results than representations made in writing." A telegram was received from Mr. Borden in reply to this second letter, appointing Wednesday morning, August 28, for an interview.

## THE DEPUTATION

On Wednesday morning, a deputation consisting of the following members of the Women's Social and Political Union, was accordingly received by Mr. Borden at the Savoy Hotel:—Miss Rachael Barrett, Mrs. Tuckwell (Matron to the British Women's Emigration Society), Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Barbara Wythe (whose brother is a Canadian M.P.), and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Miss Barrett having introduced the members of the deputation, and thanked Mr. Borden for receiving them, stated the object for which the interview had been sought.

Miss Barrett: The object of our deputation is not to ascertain whether you are in favour of Votes for Women or not; we take it that you are in favour—

Mr. Borden: You must not take too much for granted.

Miss Barrett: We in our Society are practical politicians, and we want to talk to you as a practical politician, and the main object of this deputation is to ask you whether you will, on your return to Canada, announce that you are going to introduce and carry a measure giving votes to women on the same terms as to men. You are the Prime Minister of Canada, and the Women's Social and Political Union which we represent here to-day has an organisation in Canada. We are not just a National association, but an Imperial one, and these members in Canada have asked us to help them, and to instruct them as to what they are to do in Canada in order to bring about the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men. We have members who have emigrated there, and we have members there also who have joined after hearing Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Tuckwell, who is here this morning, is a member of the Women's Social and Political Union in Canada. I think every member of this deputation has friends and relations in Canada, and for that reason, of course, we are deeply interested in the country, and we are convinced that the conditions there are not, and will not be, what they should be for women until women have an equal share in making the laws under which they have to live. We do not want to go into the reasons why women want the vote, but I think it is a matter of plain common sense, that if women had a proper share in making the laws and framing the conditions under which they live, those laws would be more likely to suit them, because women know better than anyone else can, what is good for them and for their sex.

## Canadian Laws

Then I have to add that Canada is a great dominion largely in the process of building, and we feel convinced that it will be much better built if women have a share in it, and if they are recognised definitely as citizens. In this country we can give you many examples of how the votelessness of women has given rise to laws which are very unjust to women, but I am not going to trouble you with these to-day. I am no expert at all in Canadian affairs, but we are in communication with our members in Canada, and they write to us about laws over there which are unjust to women.

Miss Barrett then gave some examples of such laws, and proceeded:—

I should like, however, to point out that the object of this deputation is not primarily to deal with these laws. Even if these laws were all what we consider they ought to be, we should still want the vote, because we consider that to be the key to the situation. We are not primarily concerned with these reforms, but with the vote.

There is another side of the matter to which I wish to call your attention, and that is the condition of women in Australia and New Zealand. Now, we in our

Society hold a great many meetings, several thousands a year, and at these meetings we always talk of the good conditions which women have made for themselves in Australia and New Zealand, and I think it is a side of the question which Canadian statesmen have to consider. As the importance of women possessing the vote develops, it is reasonable to suppose that men who emigrate will consider that they are doing better to go to those colonies in which their wives and daughters are considered as human beings, and in which the vote gives them the opportunity to improve their conditions. We in our society have been definitely considering whether we shall not hold as part of our campaign a great propaganda, advising women not to emigrate to Canada, but to emigrate in preference to those colonies where women have the vote, and advising men not to emigrate to Canada, but to Australia and New Zealand, because there their wives and daughters will have a better chance. I think that for a Canadian statesman that is a very important side of the question. Then I want to turn to the movement in this country—

Mr. Borden interrupted here to say he did not wish to discuss a question which British people must settle for themselves.

## The Government's Mistake

Miss Barrett: I should just like to point out that there is in this country a very great agitation for Woman Suffrage, which has become exceedingly acute and extremely inconvenient to this present Government. They are finding it a very great problem, and I think it is regarded as a very serious menace to their existence. The woman's agitation has reached its present stage in this country largely because this Government made the great mistake of ignoring it. They have made a very great mistake. I should like to impress you with this fact, too—the success of the movement is absolutely assured, and therefore we hope, for the sake of the Canadian Government, and for the sake of our women in Canada, that the Canadian Government will not make the mistake that our Government here at home has made, and on your reply to us will depend very much the kind of advice which we give to the women in Canada. We shall definitely consider whether we send out women to Canada to join in a deputation there, and the nature of the deputation will very largely depend on the answer you give us this morning.

I should like to add that there is no need to refer this question to the electors. The people concerned are not the present voters, and, therefore, there is no need to refer the question to the electors of the country.

Miss Barrett concluded by saying: This present Government of ours is shirking its responsibility in this matter. It is refusing to adopt a definite attitude one way or another. We do not think that you will adopt such an expedient. We think you will assume full responsibility.

## Other Speakers

Mrs. Tuckwell then spoke, drawing from her experiences in taking out parties of young girl emigrants to Canada, and referring to the evils and dangers of the White Slave Traffic, which the woman's vote would so largely help to combat.

Miss Evelyn Sharp spoke on the Imperial side of Votes for Women, and, saying that Mr. Borden's views on the principle of the question did not greatly matter, added that what did matter was his recognition of the strength and seriousness of a movement that in this country alone was responsible for 1,500 imprisonments of women. She presumed that even if his visit to England had no political object, he would, as a Statesman at the head of a great Dominion, naturally make some enquiries into the labour unrest over here in case he were to be faced in the future by similar problems in Canada. Would he not make similar enquiries into the causes of the unrest among women, since this was universal, a thing which had been rolling on through the centuries like a great wave that could not be stopped? She further pointed out that militancy was largely the result here of official unimaginativeness, and exhorted him to see to it that in Canada the women would not be driven to such terrible methods by similar mistakes on the part of politicians. Miss Sharp ended by repeating the question put by Miss Barrett:—Would he on his return to Canada introduce a measure giving Votes to Women on the same terms as to men?

## MR. BORDEN'S REPLY

You have asked me whether I propose to announce on my return to Canada that I will introduce legislation on the question mentioned. I can only say that at present I have no such intention, and for this reason. We have in Canada at the present time nine Provinces, the legislatures of which absolutely control the franchise so far as the election of Members and provincial legislation are concerned; therefore, so far as those provinces are concerned, and so far as the provincial franchise in each of those provinces is concerned, the Parliament of Canada has absolutely no power whatever. In addition to that the Parliament of Canada, for some fifteen years past, has adopted and maintained a law under which the provincial franchise is made valid for the purposes of election to

the Parliament of Canada. If, therefore, I should go to Canada and announce what you suggest, I should be making a departure from the policy which has been in force in our country for more than fifteen years. It is needless to remind you that a departure of that character would require a little more consideration than I have been able to give it during the few moments at my disposal this morning. I mean the question whether or not we shall enact a general franchise law. As a matter of fact, until it had been taken into consideration, and until we had definitely decided to revert to the old practice, it would be manifestly impossible for me to make any such announcement as that which you suggest. The statement of affairs there briefly resolves itself into this: So far as the nine provinces are concerned, so far as we are concerned, we have to be convinced that it is expedient to abolish the law that has been in force for fifteen years, and to establish a general franchise law for electoral affairs throughout Canada.

Miss Barrett: If you do establish that general franchise law, will you establish it so that women—?

Mr. Borden: I am coming to that in a minute. So far as your affairs in the British Isles are concerned, with which I do not profess to be acquainted, that is a question entirely for the British Isles. I do not interfere with those matters, for the same reason that I would not expect the Prime Minister of England to come to Canada and interfere with those matters so far as we are concerned. It is a matter in respect of which the people of the British Isles, both men and women, must work out their own salvation. I would like to be permitted, with all respect, just to make one observation, that I think the women of Canada are sufficiently intelligent to judge of these matters for themselves.

## Wiser than Mr. Asquith

I should like to add to that, that I should be most happy to receive any delegation from the women of Canada, made by them for the purpose of laying before me their views and impressions, and I trust the time will never come when I shall decline to receive any deputation or delegation of that kind.

I am not aware that the laws in Canada at the present time, or in any of the provinces, are unjust to women. Certainly, so far as the Dominion legislation is concerned, we should be most eager and ready to make any change in the laws in that regard, if it can be demonstrated to our satisfaction that such injustice exists. Some reference has been made to the homestead laws. I can only say that so far as the homestead laws are concerned, if you have any representations which you would like us to consider, we should be very glad to receive them in writing.

# GOVERNMENT'S HIGH-HANDED ACTION AT HOLMWOOD

## Bailiffs in Possession of Mr. & Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Home

As we stated briefly last week, the Sheriff's Officers levied an execution on Monday, August 19, on the country home of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at Holmwood, Surrey, under a Treasury order for the costs of the prosecution in the Conspiracy Trial. The following statement was at once issued by the Women's Social and Political Union:—

"Great indignation is felt by members of the Women's Social and Political Union at the Government's latest action. In the absence of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who are now in Canada paying a visit to Mrs. Lawrence's brother, the Government have ordered that their country home in Surrey be entered, and their furniture seized and sold in payment of the costs of the recent prosecution for conspiracy.

"The order to pay costs was in itself an act of persecution, the object of which was to impose a heavy fine in addition to the sentence of nine months' imprisonment. The costs include a sum of nearly £350 payable to the Attorney-General, a member of the Cabinet. The injustice of this order to pay costs is apparent when it is remembered that the broken windows were replaced by the insurance companies, and that these companies secured thereby an advertisement which has brought them in a great deal of new business.

"The promoters of the coal strike, which caused an infinitely greater loss to traders and to the community at large, have not been required to suffer either in pocket or in person, yet the motives were no purer than the jury declared the motives of the Suffragist leaders to be. To order the payment of costs is in itself an injustice, while to compel payment by invading a house and seizing furniture in the absence of the owners is a highly disgraceful proceeding."

## What a Member of the Public Thinks

Similar indignation at this vindictive action on the part of the Government is expressed in the following letter which appeared in the *Standard* ("Woman's Platform") last Monday:—

"Sir,—I have read with amazement the statement that the Treasury have seized Mr. Pethick Lawrence's goods at Holm-

wood, Surrey, and entered into possession of his house. The fact that the whole of the costs of the conspiracy trial will fall upon him, whose connection with the window-breaking was of the thinnest description, should surely entitle him to some sympathy and consideration! When one reflects upon his honourable career, both at the university and as a professional man, his work among the poor in East London, and his other claims to public gratitude, the conduct of the authorities appears little short of disgraceful. He is away in Canada; the bill of costs can only very recently have been delivered to him, and his solicitor is without instructions.

"The Treasury cannot wait until his return, which is expected in October, but they must subject him to this unnecessary suffering and indignity—and that during the long vacation, when the public find it impossible to secure the transaction of any useful legal business! One can only hope that such arbitrary procedure will not pass unnoticed, but that the action of the Treasury will be another nail in the coffin of this 'Liberal' Government."

## A Statement of Fact

As to the suggestion that you may employ in Canada, or may advise the women in Canada to employ what you deem "militancy," I do not know whether I am to consider that a threat or not.

Miss Barrett: A mere statement of fact. Mr. Borden: My course in public life has been in the past, and I hope always will be in the future, to do what I deem to be right in the interests of the people as a whole, and any suggestion of that kind would not have the slightest influence upon me.

Miss Barrett: I think it should have. Mr. Borden: I am perfectly willing to listen to reason and to arguments, and to weigh them with the greatest possible care.

Miss Barrett: We pointed out that these things have happened in this country on account of the unstatesmanlike attitude of the Government of this country, and I venture to hope that after this deputation you will have seen that it is on their shoulders that the responsibility rests for them having taken place. Like causes produce like effects. That responsibility will rest upon you in Canada.

Miss Barrett then reminded Mr. Borden that he had not answered the question that the deputation had waited upon him to ask.

"If you do alter the general franchise law in Canada, will you alter it so as to include women on equal terms with men?" she asked.

Mr. Borden: That is a matter to which we shall give our earnest consideration.

Miss Barrett then thanked Mr. Borden for receiving the deputation, but said emphatically that his reply had not been satisfactory. The deputation then withdrew.

## Further Developments

Further developments have been awaited with interest, the indignation and amazement aroused having been widespread. On Monday evening a report was circulated in the London Press to the effect that the bailiffs had been withdrawn from the house. This was at once denied by the W.S.P.U., the bailiffs having remained in possession since they entered last Monday week, though they had taken no further action, and proceedings were kept in suspension until Wednesday morning in this week.

On Wednesday morning we were informed that the Treasury had decided to suspend proceedings for another fourteen days. Meanwhile, however, it must be remembered that the Sheriff's officers are still in possession of the house, and are being kept at Mr. Pethick Lawrence's expense. Thus do the Government fight their battles with an enemy who is too far off to retaliate!



# THE FORCIBLE FEEDING OF SUFFRAGE PRISONERS

A Preliminary Report Appearing in the "Lancet" of August 24, 1912

By Agnes F. Savill, M.D., Glasg.; C. W. Mansell Moullin, F.R.C.S., Eng.; and Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., Eng.

## Danger and Pain

It has been stated by the Home Secretary that the practice of forcible feeding is unattended by danger or pain. We have carefully considered the written statements of 102 of the Suffrage prisoners, of whom 90 have been subjected to the operation of forcible feeding; we have personally examined a large number of these prisoners after their release, and we have communicated with the physicians who have attended those prisoners whose condition on release necessitated medical care. The facts thus elicited give the direct negative to the Home Secretary's assertion that forcible feeding as carried out in H.M.'s prisons is neither dangerous nor painful. We are confident that were the details of the statements we have read and cases we have examined fully known to the profession, this practice, which consists in fact of a severe physical and mental torture, could no longer be carried out in prisons of the twentieth century.

Forcible feeding has been carried out by nasal and by oesophageal tubes, and by the feeding-cup. The feeding-cup method is frequently forcibly administered solely by the wardresses, without the supervision of a qualified medical practitioner. In the majority of cases the feeding has, on principle, been resisted to such a degree that two doctors and four to six wardresses are required for each operation, and in several instances the officials were held at bay for periods varying from ten minutes to over an hour. But it is to be observed that even in many cases where no resistance was offered, great pain was experienced under the operation. In these circumstances it is not surprising that many prisoners state that after one operation of forcible feeding they experienced more serious symptoms and pain than after several days' starvation.

The Suffrage prisoners, it should be noted in passing, have never hunger-struck to shorten their sentences, but only to obtain equality of prison treatment for prisoners convicted of like offences, and for justice in observance by the prison officers of the prison rules, especially 243a granted by Mr. Churchill when Home Secretary, but withheld for some time or in part by Mr. McKenna.

According to the Home Secretary, forcible feeding was instituted by him to keep the Suffrage prisoners in health, and also to prevent them bringing about remission of their sentences, for which, however, they have never hunger-struck. But in the large majority of the cases it has had precisely the opposite effect. Mr. Ellis Griffith admitted in the House of Commons that on one day (June 26, 1912) from three prisons (Holloway, Maidstone, and Winson Green, Birmingham) no fewer than 22 prisoners had to be released and placed under the care of their friends in order to save their lives. Again, at the commencement of the hunger-strike 12 prisoners were immediately released upon whom forcible feeding was never attempted, because the doctors of the prison were afraid to risk the operation upon them. Further, out of a total of 102 cases of prisoners who joined in the hunger-strike we have investigated, 46 were released long before the termination of their sentences because their health had been so rapidly reduced as to alarm the medical officers. In many cases the forcible feeding with the nasal or oesophageal tubes had been carried so far that the condition of the prisoners were so enfeebled thereby as to compel the authorities to release them under the care of a special attendant who accompanied them to their homes and remained with them until the assistance of their friends could be obtained. It is, therefore, not correct to say, as the Home Secretary did in the House of Commons, that he ordered this forcible feeding in order to preserve the health of his prisoners.

## No Danger to Life or Health when Prisoner Does Not Resist

The Home Secretary, further, has repeatedly stated (see especially Hansard, May 20, 1912): "There is no danger to life or health from the process of feeding by tube. Where there is any danger it arises from the violent resistance sometimes offered by the prisoners." And Mr. Ellis Griffith stated in reference to a particular case: "If she suffered any pain it was due entirely to the violent resistance she offered to what was necessary medical treatment."

These statements are not borne out by our investigations. [A typical case follows.]

**Physical Injuries Inflicted on Prisoners**  
During the struggle before the feeding prisoners were held down by force, flung on the floor, tied to chairs and iron bedsteads. As might be expected, severe bruises were thus inflicted. The prisoners, however, did not complain of these. They regarded them as the inevitable consequences of political war.

Forcible feeding by the oesophageal or nasal tube cannot be performed without risk of mechanical injury to the nose and throat. Injuries to the nose were especially common, owing chiefly to the lack of previous examination and skill in operating. Though the medical officers were informed in several cases that the nasal

passage was known to be blocked and narrowed by previous injury, no examination was made. The prisoners were usually flung down, or tied and held while the tube was pushed up the nostrils. The intense pain so produced often forced uncontrollable screams from the prisoners. In most cases local frontal headache, earache, and trigeminal neuralgia supervened, besides severe gastric pain which lasted throughout the forcible feeding, preventing sleep.

One says: "After each feeding it (the nasal pain) gets worse, so that it becomes the refinement of torture to have the tube forced through." The nasal mucous membrane was frequently lacerated, as evidenced by bleeding of the nose and swallowing of blood from the back of the nose. Sometimes the tube had to be pushed up the nostrils three to five times before a passage could be forced. In several such cases bleeding continued for some days; in one case it recurred for ten days. In another case an abscess followed, with intense pain over the frontal region, which lasted for weeks after release. Swelling of the mucous membrane of the nose and pharynx developed almost invariably; it was accompanied by Eustachian pain, and frequently this was succeeded by severe pain over the entire area distribution of the fifth nerve. This trigeminal pain continued as long as the forcible feeding was continued. The equally invariable pharyngitis, which was obviously of septic origin, lasted in certain cases for some time after the release of the prisoner. When the oesophageal tube was employed the mouth was wrenched open by pulling the head back by the hair over the edge of a chair, forcing down the chin, and inserting the gag between the teeth. Naturally, in this process the lips, inside of the cheeks, and gums were frequently bruised, sometimes bleeding and sore to touch for days after. In a number of cases when the wardresses attempted to forcibly feed with a cup, they endeavoured to make the prisoner open her mouth by sawing the edge of the cup along the gums. In one case a cup with a broken edge was used, and caused laceration and severe pain.

## Accidents

The danger of forcible feeding is increased by the accidents liable to accompany the passage of tubes down the nose or throat. In several instances the oesophageal tube was passed into the larynx. Even in cases who did not offer resistance great pain and suffocation was caused by the clumsy use of the nasal tube when it coiled up in the back of the throat or came out of the mouth, and then had to be reinserted several times. The severe choking and vomiting which sometimes accompanied the passage of the tube led to danger from the entrance of food into the larynx.

The injection of food into the lung actually occurred in the case of one unresisting prisoner in whom the operation immediately caused severe choking, and vomiting was followed by persistent coughing. All night the patient could not sleep, or lie down on account of great pain in the side of the chest. She was hurriedly released next day, so ill that the authorities discharging her obliged her to sign a statement that she left the prison at her own risk. On her arrival at home she was found to be very ill, suffering from pneumonia and pleurisy due to the food passed into the lung. Being fortunately a young and strong woman, she escaped with her life.

## Effects on the Circulatory System

In a large number of the written statements we find that after the feeding violent palpitation occurred, frequently so severe as to prevent sleep. In certain cases it would appear that the cardiac nerve mechanism was profoundly affected, for a degree of irregularity of the cardiac rhythm is reported even by the physicians attending released prisoners. In some cases who had never previously suffered from any heart trouble this irregularity continued to occur for some weeks after release, in spite of rest in bed under medical care. Giddiness, faintness, and weakness were frequent symptoms. Collapse took place in many cases after but few (2-4) attempts at forcible feeding. The prisoner became icy cold and had to be removed to the hospital cells and surrounded with hot bottles. In most of the cases which came under our personal observation and under the care of other physicians the temperature remained subnormal (96.4deg. to 97.4deg) for some weeks after release, even although the time was spent in bed with careful feeding and other medical treatment.

## Effects of Forcible Feeding on the Stomach and Alimentary System

The well-known principles and precautions for correct artificial feeding were not observed in the prison forcible feeding. Into the completely empty and contracted stomachs of patients who had fasted for variable periods (usually 24 to 48 hours) the officials (a) rapidly poured (b) large quantities of (c) often cold liquid. Such a procedure, as is well recognised in hospital practice, inevitably causes pain, often agonising, with distension and ballooning of the stomach, as well as spasm of the muscular wall of the organ. As a necessary consequence, regurgitation and vomit-

ing followed in by far the large majority of the cases. [Another typical case follows.]

When vomiting did not occur the majority of prisoners suffered acutely from the severe pain of the sudden distension of the stomach. Every prisoner has suffered from indigestion—pain, distension, heartburn, nausea, and sickness. All the medical certificates we have before us from practitioners who have examined prisoners after release include these facts.

Vomiting often continued for hours after the operation of forcible feeding. The nutritive value of such "ordinary medical treatment," as it has been termed by the Home Secretary, was, of course, in the majority of cases nil, and in many cases life had to be saved, not by forcible feeding, but by the prompt release and restoration of the prisoner to her friends and to legitimate medical treatment. Vomiting was not, as has been alleged in Ministerial statements, brought on by resistance. One of the worst cases was that of a married woman beyond middle life, who made no resistance at all. The following is an abbreviation of her statement:—

After the first feeding by the nasal tube she was locked in her cell, and felt as if she would go mad with pain in the ears, running of the nose, and vomiting all through a sleepless night. . . . In the afternoon the feeding process was actually again begun, when suddenly the heart appeared to stop beating. The tube was immediately pulled out, but the patient fainted.

In this, as in many others, no respite of the feeding or any medical treatment were given. That such malpractices and torture could be meted out to prisoners by medical officers we should have believed impossible at the present day had we not numerous cases of the kind before us. As may be readily understood, the severe indigestion set up by forcible feeding led to other troubles of the bowel. However incredible it may seem, it is a fact that in Holloway Prison the prisoners were locked up in their cells for three to four hours consecutively, by order, it is stated, of the prison doctors, thus being prevented from access to the lavatories at a time when most required. In very many cases dyspepsia has continued for weeks or months after release.

## General Inanition

Medical practitioners who knew certain prisoners before their imprisonment and examined them after release report the supervention of anaemia with considerable loss of weight. One lost 13lb in eight days of forcible feeding; another 9lb in five days; another 8lb in a fortnight; while others report a loss of 9lb, of 1 stone, and 2 stone during the term of imprisonment. This is not surprising when one remembers what has been already pointed out in the description of the effects upon the alimentary canal. As the majority of the prisoners vomited up so much of the liquid administered to them, anaemia and decrease in weight were necessary consequences. This result of prison forcible feeding is directly contrary to the results of tube-feeding when used as a form of medical treatment in asylum and hospital practice.

## Effects on the Nervous System

Every physician who has examined the released Suffrage prisoners agree that in the majority of cases by far the most serious effects of the treatment by forcible feeding fall upon the nervous system. The younger prisoners escape with the least serious effects, but in those over thirty years of age the nervous symptoms are more marked and more lasting. Before enumerating the symptoms, we desire to point out that the Suffrage prisoners enter prison in a totally different state of mind to that which is met with in asylum practice to which the condition of treatment has been compared. These women are normal individuals who go to prison as political offenders; they are protesting against what is, to them, an unjust anomaly, and they assert in consequence that they should not be treated as common felons. With the keen sense of suffering political injustice rankling in their minds, they determine on the hunger-strike, not to obtain release, as has been asserted, but to obtain equal treatment in prison during the term of their sentences for prisoners convicted of like offences, or to obtain from the authorities the due observance of the prison rules.

We are not here concerned to discuss the right or wrong of the political methods of the militant Suffragist. We merely point out that on admission the prisoners are in a normal mental condition, which cannot be said of the patients who refuse food in the asylums. We have personally examined a number of the released prisoners, we have obtained medical certificates from the physicians who have attended others immediately on release, we have questioned the friends, and we have carefully considered the statements of those who have not come under medical care until some time after their release. In the evidence we have personally examined, and in the certificates afforded us by other physicians, there is certainly no evidence of "hysteria"—using that much-abused word in the sense of exaggerated or excessive display of emotion. On the contrary, the Suffrage prisoners have invariably de-

scribed their experiences with precision and restraint, deprecating their own share of suffering, and minimising what they have themselves endured. They only expressed themselves with feeling when relating the sufferings of their friends and the repulsive conditions of the prison.

We may group the effects on the nervous system under the following headings: (a) Symptoms on release from prison; (b) mental condition during imprisonment.

(a) *Symptoms on release from prison.*—Undoubtedly the strain on the nervous system was in every case extremely severe. In general terms, the younger and stronger the physique of the prisoner the less the torture told on the general condition. On the other hand, the better the physique of the patient, the longer she was compelled to endure the feeding, and hence it happened that in several women a state of acute delirium set in, after a long period of courageous endurance, ended only by a hurried release. They can remember nothing of the last twelve hours in prison, the mind being a blank except for the recollection of a sudden consciousness that the doctor and wardresses were surrounding the bed and promising immediate release. For weeks afterwards sleep was broken and disturbed by horrible nightmares and dreams. These patients were on the verge of acute neurasthenia, apathetic, and indifferent to matters of interest and importance. In the older patients who had been released at an earlier stage of the forcible feeding, there was a constant feeling of apprehension, with the same symptoms of broken sleep and painful dreams. In others, the characteristic symptoms of neurasthenia were present—inability to concentrate the attention on the simplest matter, loss of memory, hyper-sensitiveness to sounds, great fatigue, and general muscular weakness. In others, again, the following physical signs predominated—weak pulse, irregular at intervals, dyspepsia, pruritis, and vaso-motor instability, all indicating profound disturbance of the system generally. In many cases, under efficient medical care, the nervous system recuperated by means of a maximum of sleep. The patient would be drowsy all day, and sleep for 14 to 16 hours out of the 24 during the first week after release was not uncommon. In none of the cases seen by us or by other physicians, nor in the written statements, have we found any mental condition resembling the introspective or irrelevant ramblings met with so constantly in the average self-centred neurasthenic of the text-books and the consulting-room. These patients, without in any way exalting their experiences, regarded them as horrors which must be borne for the sake of the political and moral principle for which they were undergone.

Further physical signs of cerebro-spinal neurasthenia were present in the large majority of the cases examined. The knee reflexes were exaggerated. The patients were readily startled and easily fatigued. In some cases the extreme pain, headache, and neuralgia, which had been started by the passage of the tubes, remained as troublesome symptoms. Most were unable to concentrate their attention on professional work for months after. Many patients were kept in bed for a month; some had tremors, and for several weeks were scarcely able to walk. In one case an attack of functional paralysis of the upper part of the body on the right side followed the sixth attempt at forcible feeding.

Severe retching occurred in every case. In a large number of cases there was frequent vomiting, even when the patient felt too weak to resist the operation, and was suffering only from nervous exhaustion. A few prisoners describe a condition of nervous prostration, with breathlessness, lasting from a few hours to several days.

(b) *Mental condition during prison.*—To the physical torture of forcible feeding the prison officials in many cases added the intellectual torture of solitary confinement, and to this was added the mental anguish caused by hearing the cries, choking, and struggles of their friends. When there were many cases selected by the medical officers or the Home Secretary for forcible feeding, this mental torture was hours twice and sometimes three times daily. With a nervous system already overworked by this ordeal, each prisoner faced her own struggle. On an average the resistance could only be overcome by the united services of four to six wardresses and two doctors. After the insertion of the tube the patient often fell into a state of collapse, from which she had scarcely emerged before the terrible noise and groans of the next feeding time began again. Many robust and healthy-minded women, whom no one could term neurotic, state that they feared they were going mad; they could not sleep, and many felt that suicide would be preferable. The terror was accentuated by the fact that in most of the prisons for the greater part of the time of imprisonment they were locked up in their cells of solitary confinement, and left all day and night with the thought of the past and the dread of the future ordeal always before them.

One prisoner had to be dismissed to her home immediately after only a single feeding, because the acute nervous symptoms which followed the operation led the prison officials to fear a complete mental breakdown and to release her immediately in charge of two attendants, although she had only served 12 days of a four months' sentence. The wonder is that so many of the prisoners retained their sanity. Neurologists, however, will understand what consequences may develop in the future.

Many points in this matter of forcible feeding of political prisoners and prison discipline and prison hygiene have a direct medical bearing, but cannot be now considered. In the present one of forcible feeding the importance of sterilisation of the tubes after each case is obvious, and where a number of patients with septic conditions of the nose, throat, and mouth, phthisis, &c., are herded together in a prison the danger of infection cannot be exaggerated. Full details of what steps were sometimes taken by the officials in the different prisons cannot be ascertained, but that many prisoners were forcibly fed, one after another, with tubes not sterilised between each case, and by doctors and assistants with unwashed hands, was observed by eye-witnesses, as well as by those forcibly fed. Naturally a great deal of infection of the nose and throat occurred.

In the light of the facts enumerated in this briefly summarised paper the position of the medical profession in regard to forcible feeding of Suffrage prisoners must be considered anew. We cannot believe that any of our colleagues will agree that this form of prison torture is justly described in Mr. McKenna's words as "necessary medical treatment" or "ordinary medical practice."



## W.S.P.U. ANSWER TO MRS. FAWCETT

An appeal in favour of constitutional methods was made by Mrs. Henry Fawcett, the President of the N.U.W.S.S., in the Press last week. In this Mrs. Fawcett says that it has been alleged that fifty years of constitutional methods have accomplished nothing. She absolutely denies this statement, and points out that during these fifty years professions were opened to women, local franchise was conferred upon them, they became eligible for Poor Law guardianships, and in many other ways the women's movement made great strides. All this progress was achieved by the very women who were leading the constitutional movement. As regards work in the House of Commons, she claims that from 1836 until 1912 woman suffrage was never once defeated on a straight issue by the vote of the House of Commons, and that the first defeat (in March last) came after six years of militancy, and was the direct result of window-smashing. In reference to the Bristol and Hyde Park riots, Mrs. Fawcett maintains that they were led by unthinking mobs, that they were not supported by the earnest leaders of the Reform movement, and that they had no influence whatever on the passage of the Reform Bill. In conclusion, Mrs. Fawcett points out to Mr. Asquith that force is no remedy for disorder, and that the only solution is to give women the vote.

### Miss Kenney's Reply

This letter was answered in the Press the next day by Miss Annie Kenney, who wrote as follows:—

"In reply to Mrs. Fawcett, may I say that it is not the opinion of militant Suffragists that the Constitutional Suffrage agitation of the past half century has achieved nothing. What we say is that it has not secured the vote. What we say further is that before militant methods were adopted, the Woman Suffrage movement was moribund. And to that statement we add this, that since militancy began, Votes for Women has become one of the chief political questions of the day.

"That the 19th century saw great improvements in the position of women and that these improvements were effected by the Suffragist pioneers, we militants fully acknowledge. We would, however, point out that the laws benefiting wives, the law enabling women to take degrees in medicine and be placed on the medical register, the law admitting women for the first time to the municipal franchise—all these laws were enacted before the extension of the men's franchise in 1834, when the male electorate was comparatively small, and the difficulty of getting justice for disfranchised women not so great as it is to-day. For we must remember that with every increase of the voting power of men, the political position of women becomes relatively lower than before. If the present Government should succeed in their attempt to give votes to all men and to no women, it will in future be a matter of stupendous difficulty to get Parliament, deafened as it will be, by the clamour of an enormous male electorate, to listen to the claims of voteless women.

"Mrs. Fawcett suggests that the rejection of the Conciliation Bill was due to militancy. This we deny.

"The introduction of the Conciliation Bill was, we claim, the direct result of militancy, because the avowed object of its promoters was to conciliate the militant women on the one hand and the Government on the other. Like previous Woman Suffrage Bills, the Conciliation Bill passed its second reading in 1911, but in 1912 it failed to do so. There were two reasons for this. In the first place, the Government had promised a week for the Committee stage, so that the second reading division was not the purely academic performance that it had been in the previous year, when it was believed to be destined to be immediately shelved. In the second place, the Government, fearing that the House of Commons might utilise the promised facilities to carry the Bill, worked privately to secure the rejection of the Bill. Members of Parliament were told that if they passed the Conciliation Bill or any other Woman Suffrage proposal, Anti-Suffragist Ministers would resign, and the Government would break up. To avert the disruption of the Government, the Nationalist Members voted against Woman Suffrage, and many Liberal Suffragist M.P.'s followed suit.

"Government intrigue and not militancy is, we assert, the cause of the Conciliation Bill's defeat.

"What militancy has already achieved is this. It has compelled the Government to abandon their old attitude of complete irresponsibility for women's enfranchisement. The Government now make a pretence of accepting responsibility with regard to the question. That is to say, they have pledged themselves to carry a Woman Suffrage measure upon condition that it is first adopted by the House of Commons as an amendment to the Franchise Bill. As I have shown, the Government by privately threatening disruption, and the consequent loss of the Home Rule Bill and other measures, are seeking to prevent the passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment, and thus to escape the fulfilment of their promise.

"That state of affairs calls not for the abandonment of militancy, but for the continuance of militancy in order that the Government may be compelled to accept

full, real and direct responsibility for carrying a Woman Suffrage measure through all its stages into law.

"Mrs. Fawcett's denial that violence procured the Reform Act of 1832 can best be met by citing Lord John Russell's own assertion that the Bill was introduced because 'Lord Grey was persuaded that nothing but a large reform of Parliament would ward off revolution.' Lord John Russell has left it on record that the Reform Act 'averted civil war.'

"Mrs. Fawcett points out that Lord Grey and other leaders of the reform movement neither organised nor applauded the militant agitation of their day. That is true. It has been left to the leaders of the W.S.P.U. not only to profit by the daring acts of the rank and file, but also to take their share of the moral responsibility and the legal penalties attaching thereto."

### NURSE PITFIELD A Reminiscence

When the magistrate pronounced what he said was a "deterrent" sentence of two months upon Nurse Pitfield in 1910, she merely remarked as she left the dock, "Ah, well, I see there's nothing for it but the Vote!"—a trenchant observation which seems to me the only comment left for militant Suffragists to make when any fresh instance of official injustice occurs.

Nurse Pitfield was a remarkable woman, with enough force of character to make four average people; she was rugged, forcible, fundamental, and as in all expansive natures, there were strong contrasts of light and shade in hers; she, like all of us, felt the strong inspiration of the movement, and told me once that the cause had given her new hopes, ideals and aspirations.

During her illness nothing seemed to rouse her but speaking about the movement; and her first words, when I used to visit her, usually were: "Tell me, what have they been doing?" and her last—"Keep the flag flying—NEVER give in!" She had no wish to die—she said that four lives would not be enough for all she wanted to do. She saw keenly what was visible and possible, for she was a woman with what Carlyle calls "an eye." She knew no half measures; she either did a thing thoroughly, or she left it alone. The intense sense of humour which she possessed needs no comment here—it is too well known to most of the readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Nurse Pitfield gave of her best, she gave all she had to give—who, for any cause that they love, could do more?

With sorrow we have left a comrade by the wayside as we march towards the land of our hopes—she lies at rest after a strong fight, beneath the flag she so passionately loved. She is gone—the desire of her heart unaccomplished; but she has passed through the valley of suffering, her soul filled with the new wine of a great hope for the world she leaves behind.

K. S.

### LEGAL DEFENCE FUND

Miss Goodliffe, Hon. Treasurer, 62, High Street, Hampstead, N.W.

The subscription list is already showing how deeply the friends of the prisoners have been stirred by the monstrous sentences in Dublin. The subsequent hunger-strike and forcible feeding will make members of the W.S.P.U. more than ever determined to show their indignation against such brutality, and their loyalty to the women who are displaying such conspicuous courage in fighting and suffering for the principle of political treatment.

This list will be kept open to enable those who are away on their holidays to subscribe.

#### List of Donations to August 24

Already acknowledged, £79 15s. 6d.; subscriptions up to August 24: Miss Nelly Neave (second donation), £5; Anonymous (per Mrs. B.), £10; Hampstead Local Union, £5; Miss Alice Heale, £1; Mrs. Elizabeth Edwards, 10s.; Nurse Fanny Pease, 5s.; Miss E. Pearce, 1s.; Mrs. Diplock, 10s.; "Weston-super-Mare," 5s.; Miss Janie Allan (second donation), £10; Miss G. Cooke, 2s. 6d.; Miss A. McKenna, 5s.; Miss Rintoul, 5s.; Miss Eleanor Green, 5s.; Mrs. Mary Lang, 5s.; Miss MacMunn, 10s.; Miss B. Ridley, £1 1s.; Miss A. V. Baughan, 2s. 6d.; Miss E. Billing, 5s.; Mrs. Mabel Rees, 10s.; Mrs. Fiddian, 5s.; Miss Margaret Edwards, 3s.; total, £116 5s. 6d.

### MILITANCY FOR MEN ONLY

Mr. Churchill in his new rôle of poacher turned gamekeeper, admits that there are cases where rebellion becomes a duty, and the whole constitutional history of our country proves that unless Englishmen had held this view and acted upon it many, if not most of our constitutional liberties would never have been secured.—*Saturday Review*.

### WHAT ABOUT WOMEN'S RIGHT AND DUTY?

In the *Times* leading article of August 22 the following militant passage occurs:—"They (i.e., the Ulstermen) take the old common-sense British view that free men have the right, and are under the duty, to resist oppression—even when oppression is clothed in legal forms."

## HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

"Wanted Everywhere"—Wet or Fine!

Even the unprecedented rain of August, 1912, has not damped the ardour of the W.S.P.U. holiday-makers. In drenching rain they have sold *VOTES FOR WOMEN* on the sea shore, in the market place, on the open road. Crops may be ruined and villages laid under water—nothing can swamp the cause of women's enfranchisement or delay the harvest that women will so soon be reaping.

We suggest that a good way to defy the weather and to extend the circulation of the paper, and in a permanent manner, is to obtain regular subscribers by talking to fellow residents in hotels or boarding-houses, and by a house-to-house canvass in town or village. We shall be glad to print weekly the number of regular subscribers obtained in this way, which, although not recommended as a means of keeping entirely dry, will at least be more so than standing out in the rain selling papers.

In spite of the drenching rain, however, glowing accounts reach us of increasing sales of the paper all over England. At Newquay, Miss Ward and Miss Randall have been so successful with paper-selling and in holding meetings as to produce a warmly appreciative notice in the *Newquay Express*. By displaying the picture poster on the hoarding at the beach exit, they have created much interest in the paper. From a distinctly "Anti" centre at Basingstoke Miss March writes that she is breaking down opposition daily. "A butcher with a stall in the market was very encouraging," she adds. "Some women stood at the corner of the market place and laughed and hooted at me, and he called out, 'Why don't you become Suffragettes?' 'Be one yourself!' was the answer. He replied, 'I am one,' and promptly bought another copy of the paper."

At Nairn (too far north to come within our map last week) Miss E. Hudson and her sister have decorated their bathing tent in the colours, and, in spite of a steady downpour, attended the Highland games last week and sold out their stock of papers. At Aldeburgh Miss J. Jacob had an equally successful sale on the beach, selling out her stock in half-an-hour; she hopes for a good day at the Regatta. One result, an excellent one, of the Holiday Campaign at Llandudno has been the offer of a prominent newsagent to expose the poster outside his shop. Miss Startup sends the following account from Birching-ton-on-Sea:—

"We established ourselves in a prominent position and spread out bills and posters, which attracted a good deal of attention, some interesting and personal remarks and a little trade. We came in for a few hours daily, but yesterday morning were accosted by a policeman, who politely and apologetically told us we had no right to sell papers without a license. He took our names and addresses and sundry other pieces of information, but allowed us to continue selling till the train went by which we were returning. The appearance of the policeman was the signal for quite a crowd (too timid to approach without protection) to assemble. They soon dwindled away when the policeman vanished, evidently greatly disappointed at not seeing us taken up on the spot. We met with sympathisers though, and more than one person asked if there were to be any meetings."

Miss West reports that the meetings along the Norfolk coast held by the Misses Brackenbury and Miss Kathleen Jarvis concluded last week. They were most successful, the average collection at the meetings being 10s., and round Hunstanton the support has been particularly gratifying. At Cromer and Sheringham, Miss Walton and Miss Clarke have kept up an excellent sale of papers. Mrs. Tarrant writes from Worthing that Mrs. Zangwill's witty speech convinced a large crowd there last week, her most determined interruptor

being the one to move a vote of thanks at the end of her meeting. Papersellers are badly wanted there on Fridays and Saturdays; also, the petition to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on behalf of Mrs. Leigh and Miss Gladys Evans is open for signature at 11, Liverpool Terrace, Worthing, between 2 o'clock and 5. Miss Harman sends the cheering news from Woodbridge that on her third appearance in the market place she sold far more papers than on the two former occasions. Among her customers, last week, was a lady who said she had never seen a copy of the paper before. It is never too late to begin!

### Holiday Campaign in London

We would remind members of the W.S.P.U. who happen to be holiday-making in London that, in the words of the notorious Lord Queensberry, "London, although empty in August, is fuller than the country"; and just now town is invaded by foreign and colonial visitors, who are immensely interested in the militant Suffrage movement, and look upon a *VOTES FOR WOMEN* seller as one of the sights of London. Last week more copies of the paper were sold at Oxford Circus than have ever been sold on that pitch before, which is some indication of what can be done in London just now if papersellers will come forward and help. Most of the regular sellers are away, so will others who do not sell regularly, or who have come to town for their holiday, give one or two hours a week to a very pleasant piece of work? They are not asked to break new ground; the soil has already been prepared by the pioneers who are now out of town.

All holiday-makers who are going away for September are asked to communicate at once with Mrs. Ayrton-Gould, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C., giving her their names, their holiday and permanent addresses, the date and locality of their visit, and stating whether they want to do much or little, and whether they prefer to be put into communication with other members or to work independently. She will be glad to lend decorations in the colours for tents, cars, bicycles, &c., and to supply *VOTES FOR WOMEN* handbills free. The following are on sale, and may also be obtained from her on application: *VOTES FOR WOMEN* banners, price 1s. 3d. for the first one, and 1s. for others ordered at the same time (a few stencilled by hand at 1s. 6d.); *VOTES FOR WOMEN* picture posters, price 3d. each for the first one, and 2d. each for others ordered at the same time. It is also urged that the special poster called "Penal Servitude or Votes?" (see page 771) be procured and displayed all over the country.

### THE ROOT OF THE MATTER

According to the *Labour Leader* a War-against-Poverty Campaign is to be conducted by the I.L.P. and the Fabian Society, involving the promotion of social and economic legislation. A correspondent, Mr. J. Beauland, of Manchester, writes to that paper, pointing out that the Enfranchisement of Women should precede such legislation. Here is a passage from his letter that goes to the root of the matter:—

It is all very well to plan a great campaign against poverty to facilitate the passing of legislation next year; but here is legislation this year, on a question fully ripe for settlement, to ignore which will be nothing less than a shameful evasion of our duty and a betrayal of our trust. Besides, you cannot make war on poverty in the abstract; you must advocate some concrete alternative of shorter hours, a minimum wage, the right to work, or some similar proposal; but nothing conduces to the poverty of men so much as the competition of underpaid women, and nothing would correct that so surely, particularly in Government employment, as the giving of votes to women. Sincere support on our part of the finest campaign the world has seen would mean also the best preparation for the proposed crusade next year.

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# CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

**W.S.P.U. Central Offices: 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.**

**HAMMERSMITH.**  
Many thanks to all who contributed to jumble sale and helped in selling. Also to paper-sellers, who, undeterred by bad weather, have had good sales. More volunteers are still required for this very valuable work.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, The Grove, W.)

**ILFORD.**  
In spite of rain, exceptionally large crowds gathered at East Ham on Wednesday. Miss Haslam spoke, papers sold out, donation from member of audience, 2s. Miss Dora Gregory spoke at Balfour Road on Saturday. Graciously acknowledged: Miss Gregory, 6s. At a members' meeting, Thursday, it was unanimously decided to present the prize (silver salt-cellar), received in carnival procession, to the retiring treasurer, with every good wish for her future married life.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.)

**KINGSTON AND DISTRICT.**  
Miss I. V. Yeoman has kindly consented to sing at next Saturday's meeting (see programme). Members please attend and bring friends. Dutch Market plans will be discussed. Secretary urges all to come forward with help. Mrs. Burton has handsome square of Liberty linen which would make handsome tablecloth with lace or work. Can any members undertake this? Notify secretary at once. Office opens September 2. Members asked to buy everything possible at shop. Stewards and paper-sellers required. More weekly subscribers wanted. Donations, however small, welcomed. Mrs. McKirdy's book on "White Slave Market" now in lending library; can be hired for 2d. per week. It is proposed to extend library. Will all members who can supply books do so? Books can be given outright or lent. Mrs. Chetti thanked for offer of gramophone. Miss Parker for promising to sing, October 12. Others who can help in this way please communicate with secretary. This is most important. Graciously acknowledged: Mrs. Bessel, 1s.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dacre Fox, Office—13, Union Street, Kingston-on-Thames.)

**N.W. LONDON.**  
Members reminded that offices have not been closed during the holidays, and on their return to town Miss Dorothy Shallard will be delighted to see them, especially if time can be given for paper-selling, this being particularly valuable at a time when so many visitors are in town. A beautiful anchor in the colours was sent from this Union to Nurse Pifford's funeral. Will members who desire to contribute towards cost send to Miss Shallard? Many thanks for recent anonymous gift of £5 towards £100 fund. Will those members who have not yet contributed to this fund please help to supply small sum now needed to complete it? Congratulations to Kilburn Shop Assistants Union on their helpful resolution.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Penn Gaskell, Office—310, High Road, Kilburn.)

**NORTH ISLINGTON.**  
It is hoped that members will keep the evening of September 19 free in order to attend C.L.W.S. meeting. St. Mark's Vicarage, Tollymore Park, when Lady Stout will speak. Particulars later.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Constance Bryer, Office, 49, St. Thomas's Road, Finsbury Park.)

**WIMBLEDON.**  
Stewards who have made special effort to keep up Wimbledon's record of keeping shop open full time during holidays will feel amply rewarded by results so far. August takings have far exceeded the average, many strangers have called giving special opportunities for propaganda, paper sales have not diminished, and new members have been enrolled. Miss Wheeler specially thanked for continuing to act as Chief Shop Steward during Mrs. Begbie's absence—special facilities for posting votes to absent members during holidays eagerly utilised. It is hoped this postal department will be patronised systematically, and so extend the international interest in the women's movement. Already new sympathisers have been gained thereby. Albert Hall tickets selling out. Secure promptly to avoid disappointment. Only 2s. 6d. and 6d. now remain, all good positions. Jumble Sale takes place early autumn. Parcels may be sent Dorset Hall for storage plainly marked "Jumble." Sunday meetings on the Common will not be held September 1 and 8, but will be resumed September 15, 3 p.m. instead of 6 p.m. Paper sales continued exceptionally good at these meetings, and more sellers would be welcome. Last Sunday's meeting was addressed by Mrs. Bouvier. Mrs. Goodchild made her maiden chairman's speech. Who will offer to do likewise? For the convenience of those living at foot of hill, meetings have been arranged to take place on Thursdays (commencing October 25) at Queen's Hall, 8 p.m. Further particulars later.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Shop—8, Victoria Street, Broadway.)

**WOOLWICH.**  
Members please note autumn campaign now starting. It is hoped to hold meetings every Friday, Elnor Road, Woolwich, at 7.30 p.m. Treasurer will be pleased to receive donations; also farthings towards 1,000 farthings fund.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Clifford, 4, Heathwood Gardens, Charlton.)

## Home Counties.

**BEXHILL-ON-SEA.**  
Members reminded of Organiser's suggestion that those who cannot help with street-selling should take additional copy of paper weekly, either sell or give it where it might do good, or leave it in trains, trams, waiting rooms, or seats on parade.—(Organiser—Miss M. S. Allen, Shop—Marina.)

**BOURNEMOUTH.**  
Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak St. Peter's Hall, October 25, 8 p.m. Will members please note and advertise this meeting?—(Hon. Sec.—Miss B. Berry, 221, Old Christchurch Road.)

**BRIGHTON, HOVE, AND DISTRICT.**  
In spite of bad weather, Miss Bouvier and Miss Rogers have addressed crowded meetings on the front. Nearly three hundred papers sold in Brighton last week. Will anyone volunteer to sell paper Friday and Saturday mornings on front?—(Org.—Miss G. Allen, Office—8, North Street, Quadrant.)

**CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.**  
During holiday season Miss Helen Nicoll, Avenue Mansions, West Leas, Folkestone, will kindly give any information required, or will sell literature. The following ladies have kindly consented to act as permanent honorary local secretaries: Canterbury, Miss Burch, St. Sepulchre's, Oaten Hill; Folkestone, Lady Lamb, 23, Limes Road; Dover, Miss Ritchie, Jenkins.—(Org.—Miss F. E. M. Mayday, Trevarra, 30, Bouverie Road West, Folkestone.)

**EASTBOURNE.**  
Very fine beach meeting this week. Mrs. Kranich made great impression. Paper-selling excellent. Gentleman who last week gave 2s. 6d. copy of paper with advice to keep change to pay for hetchet, this week thought 2s. 6d. not too much for one copy.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 10, Southfields Road.)

**HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS.**  
Out-door meeting Tuesday evening well attended. Mrs. Kranich's address much improved audience. At the end a lady gave two shillings to pay for five copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, which were eagerly accepted by the crowd. Many visitors to shop during week. Graciously acknowledged: Mrs. Darent Harrison, 21; Miss Tristram, 10s. being 1s. for each week of Mrs. Pankhurst's imprisonment.—(Org.—Miss M. S. Allen, 8, Claremont.)

**PORTSMOUTH AND SOUTHAMPTON.**  
Many thanks to Miss G. Harrold for 3s. sweetest. Paper-sellers wanted.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss L. H. Pankhurst, 4, Pelham Road, Southampton.)

## TUMBRIDGE WELLS.

A jumble sale will be held some time during autumn. Will friends and members send parcels to office? As the Misses Wedgwood (all paper sellers) are leaving next month, the hon. sec. hopes that all members who have not done so previously will come forward to sell. Acknowledged with thanks: Nurse Harmer, 1s.; Mrs. Davis, 21 5s.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss Olive Watson, 11, Pantiles.)

## The Midlands.

**LEICESTERSHIRE.**  
Shop re-opens Monday, September 2. Members please attend for shopkeeping. A strenuous autumn campaign must be held in Leicester. Help needed. Weekly open-air meetings recommence Market Place, September 12. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak Temperance Hall, December 4. Anyone requiring tickets for Albert Hall Meeting, October 17, please write direct Clement's Inn.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss C. R. Swain, Office—14, Bowling Green Street.)

## West of England.

**BRISTOL.**  
Great interest shown at the week's open-air meetings, speaker, Miss Elsa Myers. Many thanks to Miss Myers for giving her holiday to help local work. A few Albert Hall tickets still for sale at Shop. Graciously acknowledged: Mrs. Mumford Bailey, 2s. 6d.—(Hon. Org.—Mrs. Dove-Wilcox, Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton.)

**ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.**  
At Home, August 23, extremely well attended. Hostesses, Miss Ross and Miss Ball. Thanks to Dr. Christine Murrell for her speech which made great impression. A decorated pony carriage drove round town and pier on Regatta Day. Much interest shown and many papers sold.—(Hon. Sec.—Mrs. du Sautoy Newby, "St. Mary's," Broad Park Avenue.)

## MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

August, Friday, 30	Liverpool, Beaumont Street Corner	Miss Woodcock	8 p.m.
" "	Worthing, Beach Meeting (near Band-stand)	Mrs. Dacre Fox	5.30 p.m.
Saturday, 31	Birkenhead, Haymarket	Dr. Alice Ker, Miss Woodcock	8 p.m.
" "	Brighton, Sea Front	Mrs. Dacre Fox	5.30 p.m.
" "	Bristol, London Inn	Miss Jessie Smith	7.30 p.m.
September, Sunday, 1	Brighton, Sea Front	Mrs. Dacre Fox	11.30 a.m.
" "	Leeds, Woodhouse Moor	Miss Jessie Smith	7.30 p.m.
Monday, 2	Bristol, Badminton Bridge	Miss Jessie Smith	5.30 p.m.
Wednesday, 4	Brighton, Sea Front	Miss Jessie Smith	7.30 p.m.
" "	Bristol, Midland Road	Miss Jessie Smith	7.30 p.m.
Saturday, 7	Bristol, St. George's Park	Miss Jessie Smith	7.30 p.m.

## LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK

August, Friday, 30	Woolwich, Elnor Road	Miss Cox, Miss Clifford and Miss Gregory	7.30 p.m.
Saturday, 31	Ilford, Balfour Road	Mrs. Bouvier	8 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, 9s, Lombard Vale	Members' Rally	5.8 p.m.
" "	Wandsworth (near Epsom)	Mrs. Federation for W.S.	7.30 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon, 3, Victoria Crescent	Members' Rally	4.15 p.m.
" "	Woodford Green	Miss Haslam	7.30 p.m.
September, Sunday, 1	Catford Tram Terminus	Mr. S. Casson	7 p.m.
" "	Clapham Common	Mrs. Oliver Watt	3 p.m.
" "	Baling Common	Mrs. Tidswell	6 p.m.
" "	Hampstead Heath, Flag Staff	Men's Federation for W.S.	3 p.m.
" "	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	Miss Nancy Lightman, Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, Chair: Mr. John Simpson	11.30 a.m.
" "	Regent's Park	Miss Hardy, E. Shaw, Esq.	6 p.m.
Monday 2	Wandsworth (near prison)	Committee Meeting	8 p.m.
Wednesday, 4	Baling, 35, Warwick Road	Miss Haslam	8 p.m.
" "	Ilford, Barking, Old Town Hall	Miss Hicks, M.A.	7.30 p.m.
Thursday 5	Hampstead Heath, Flag Staff	Hostess: Miss N. Tomlin	2.30-5 p.m.
Friday, 6	Kingston, 13, Union Street	Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Chair: Mrs. Heard	7.30 p.m.
" "	Kingston, Scotch Café		

## Wales.

**CARDIFF AND DISTRICT.**  
Office will be open during September from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Miss Letitia Floyd will be in charge. Monday, September 2. Will members send their friends for literature and "Votes for Women" tea? Who will help to sell the paper? All are willing to help in any way please communicate with Miss Floyd at office.—(Org.—Miss Annie Williams, Office—27, Charles Street, Cardiff.)

## Eastern Counties.

**CAMBRIDGE.**  
Papers sold outside post office Friday and Saturday mornings. Will members willing to help sell kindly communicate with Miss M. Pryor, 27, Cavendish Road, Mill Road (Paper Captain).

**FELIXSTOWE.**  
After very successful campaign meetings have now ended. Thanks to Mrs. Politt and Mrs. Dexter, who have given so much help. Paper-selling will continue every Friday and Saturday. 115 sold last week. Will any members residing in Felixstowe during September, and willing to sell papers, please communicate with Miss Lowy.—(Org.—Miss Grace Roe, Hon. Sec.—Miss E. Lowy, Woodcroft, Bath Road, Felixstowe.)

**IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.**  
Members are reminded of Jumble Sale to be held early in autumn. Shop will only be open Friday and Saturday mornings, from 10 to 1 p.m., during remainder of holidays.—(Org.—Miss Grace Roe, Shop Sec.—Miss King, Shop—Dial Lane.)

## North-Eastern Counties.

**LEEDS AND DISTRICT.**  
It was decided at Saturday's meeting not to hold stand at Exhibition. Sunday afternoon meetings on Woodhouse Moor being arranged to commence Sunday next, September 1 (see programme). Will helpers please meet at office to get permits, regalia, &c. Miss Duval will be present at next Tuesday's tea. Will all members make special effort to attend in order to discuss autumn plans. Kindly bring September subscriptions. Congratulations to Mrs. Fingle on her recent paper sales in Robin Hood's Bay district. It is hoped all members will follow her example. Books wanted for Office Library. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak, Philosophical Hall, November 19. Mrs. Walter Dodgson will preside.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss C. Palmer, Office—3, Cockridge Street.)

**SCARBOROUGH.**  
Open-air campaign now in full swing, meetings being held almost every evening, as well as several afternoons. Miss B. A. Howes being the speaker. Graciously acknowledged: Dr. W. S. Mackenzie, 22; Mrs. W. S. Mackenzie (Lochnaver), 22; Miss M. Mackenzie, 22; and Mrs. Gill, 2s. Many thanks to Mrs. Wigney and Miss Wickham for flowers for shop. Members willing to spare an hour to help with meetings asked to communicate with Miss Howes.—(Org.—Miss B. A. Howes, 33, St. Nicholas Cliff.)

**SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.**  
Members reminded that autumn campaign starts Tuesday, see programme. If possible, it is hoped to hold these meetings regularly to work up good meeting for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Please note. Special

business meeting, Wednesday, September 4, all urged to be present. Tickets for Albert Hall meeting can be had at the shop. Party to go from Sheffield Railway Excursion, 6s. All those wishing to join please enter names on shop list. Don't forget jumbles for autumn sale. Miss Schuster forgot to receive anything that will sell, however small.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss F. E. O'Neill, 26-28, Chapel Walk.)

## North-Western Counties.

**BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.**  
Members please rally to demonstration, Platt Fields, Manchester, Saturday, September 7. Details given next week. Offers of help asked in paper selling, &c. Graciously acknowledged: Mrs. Lees, 2s. 6d.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Martin and Miss S. W. Holden, 665, Manchester Road, Great Lever.)

**LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.**  
Meeting Saturday evening, Haymarket, Euxinehead, good audience in spite of drizzling rain. Votes for Women and "Speeches from Dock" sold.—(Org.—Miss Davies, Office—11, Renshaw Street.)

**MANCHESTER.**  
All joining in procession, Saturday, September 7, asked to assemble in St. Peter's Square 2 p.m. Procession starts 2.30, and will march up Oxford Road and Wilmslow Road to Platt Fields, Rusholme, where demonstration will be held, 3.30. Many helpers needed at demonstration, and also during coming week; volunteers should call at office. Members' meeting to-night: 8 p.m.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss K. Wallwork, Office—32, King Street West.)

**SOUTHPORT.**  
Members asked to notice that monthly meeting will be held Wednesday, September 25, instead of September 4, at 58, Oak Street. Important business to be arranged.—(Hon. Sec.—Miss G. Duxfield, 13, Ash Street.)

**BALATER.**  
Last Saturday Balater was all agog with excitement. Motor-cars came whizzing from all directions; townsmen, tourists, excursionists thronged the streets to welcome the arrival of the King. Suffragettes, not a few of them, mingled with the crowds, but soon they were seen to take up their stand at

**MEN'S POLITICAL UNION**  
**For Women's Enfranchisement**  
A large and interested crowd listened to Mr. R. Duval and Mrs. Bouvier near Wandsworth Prison on Thursday, August 22. A good collection was taken, two dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and several converts made. These meetings will be held every Monday and Thursday until Mr. Gray's release, which, we understand, will take place on Thursday, September 5. Mr. V. L. Duval did splendid propaganda work in Scotland, and will speak in Hull, September 12 and 13, where a branch of the M.P.U. is being formed. The hon. sec., Mr. J. News (100, Limes Street, Anlaby Road, Hull) will be glad to receive promises of help, financial and otherwise, and to give full information to would-be members. Members and friends are reminded that box seat tickets (price 2s. 6d.) can be obtained at the address below. For meetings see programme. Already acknowledged, £1,600 12s. 9d.; Miss M. C. Key, 15s.; Membership Fees, 2s. Gray, Defence Fund, Miss H. B. Hanson, M.D., 2s. 6d.—(Hon. Sec.—Victor Duval, Office—13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.)



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Real Indian table-cloth, 38in by 38in, embroidered in Union's colours on white linen 1 5 0  
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**ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras.** At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, daintiest, coziest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; in pension, 9s.; finest English provisions; terrace, garden, lounge. Managers, 4788 Gerrard.

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**BOARD-RESIDENCE**, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4359 Paddington. Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

**BRIGHTON-TITCHFIELD HOUSE**, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms from 27s. 6d.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

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**BROADSTAIRS** for an Enjoyable Holiday and good food; exceptional cleanliness and comfort in a refined boarding-house; mid-day dinner; terms moderate.—12, Inverness Terrace, The Vale.

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**FOLKESTONE**—Trevan, Bonverie Road West. Board-residence. Excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre. Separate tables. From two guineas.—Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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**RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.**—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

**SANDGATE**—1½ miles Folkestone; constant motor service; airy, comfortable house, facing sea; bathroom, electric light; board-residence, 27s. 6d. W.S.P.U.—6, Sunnyside.

**SKEGNESS**—Vegetarian; Board-Residence; situated amidst fields, ten minutes from sea and links; good-cooking and liberal catering by earnest vegetarian; Suffragettes warmly welcomed.—Leonora Cohen, "Gortchen," Windthorpe, Skegness.

**SUFFRAGETTES**, spend your Holidays at BRIGHTON. Revolving Shelter in garden for sleeping; home-made bread; terms moderate.—Miss Turner, "Sea-View," Victoria Road, Nat. Tel. 1702.

**TWO LADIES** (gardening, poultry-farming) receive Paying Guests. Charming house; croquet; lovely moorland country; good sketching; cycling; open-air swimming-bath. Terms, 30s.—Leslie-Carrington, Coughton Cottage, Verwood, Dorset.

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**BURNHAM BECHES**—Picturesque Cottage to let furnished; 3 bed, 2 sitting, bathroom, h. and c.; large verandah, balcony; attendance; 2 acre lovely woodland.—Waldesruh, Farnham Common, Bucks.

**CHARMING detached Cottages** and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £275; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 33, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

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**HAND-LAUNDRY** for Sale, in lovely village, near growing Midland town; high-class work; splendid connection; out-door drying; considerable profit; strictest investigation; cheap.—Box 124, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

**HIGHGATE**—Furnished Flat; beautiful, fully situated; large sitting-room, overlooking Waterlow Park, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom; from September 14; 25s.—Bradshaw, White House, Highgate.

**ISLE OF MAN, RAMSEY**—House to let with all modern conveniences, situated about four miles from Ramsey; near electric car.—Apply Shepherd, "Cornucopia," Ramsey.

**LARGE ROOM** to let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 253, Oxford Street.

**NEAR CLAPTON COMMON**—Four or five excellent rooms (one fitted as kitchen), in occupier's own house, to let, unfurnished; use of bath.—Apply to view, Harvey, 188, Stamford Hill, N.

**SOUTH KENSINGTON**—To Let, October 1, in lady's house (three minutes to Gloucester Road Station), bed sitting room and dressing-room, with use of bath and attendance; board and use of telephone as desired.—U. S. VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

**SYDENHAM HILL (London)**—Only Freshhold Mansion purchasable. Fine views, 3½ acres, 22 rooms (billiards), stabling; fine conservatory; hot-houses.—Mme. Sales, Lescar, Basses Pyrenees, France.

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**TO LET**—Furnished Cottage, on Surrey Common; charming; sheltered situation; secluded, but not isolated; four rooms, garden; 18s. weekly.—Write to Miss Morgan-Brown, Little Holland, Clacton-on-Sea, Essex.

**UNFURNISHED CHAMBERS** for Gentlemen; two now vacant; from 7s. 6d. each weekly; in nice Square near Notting Hill Station (not Gate).—Apply, letter only, P. 152, Warwick Street, S.W.

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**GOLDER'S GREEN**—Wanted, a Lady Paying Guest for September; terms, 2 guineas per week; tennis, golf course; near Heath and Tube; healthy and comfortable house.—Apply, B. L. VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

**MEMBER** will exchange for six months pretty furnished house in Cornwall, close to good seaside town (very mild climate and beautiful garden), for good flat in W.C. District.—Lorraine, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

**WANTED**—Lady-Gardener (working), with practical knowledge of poultry (natural methods); 2 acres; no glass; Surrey; Church of England; member W.S.P.U. preferred; age about 30; furnished rooms provided.—Write (in first instance) to Mrs. Richmond, Little Holland, Clacton-on-Sea, Essex.

**WANTED**—Gentlewoman (smart), of independent means, as Paying Guest, for sale of companionship, in country house, 9 miles from large Midland town. One fond of Bridge, jaunts occasionally up to town, and member of W.S.P.U. preferred. Bath, electric lighting, heating apparatus; motor. No children. No other guests. Two guineas inclusive, except wines. Banker's references.—Box 132, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clement's Inn.

**WANTED**—September 20, in Lady's House, Kensington or Earl's Court, two unfurnished rooms; use of bath, gas, telephone; weekend use only during school terms; references.—Capel-Davies, 11, Seaview Terrace, St. Ives.

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**A POLISH LADY STUDENT** of Literature, knowing French, German, Russian, Polish, English, and a little Italian, wishes to find an engagement either as a Secretary in London or as a travelling companion abroad; references.—Applications by letter: I. K. L. Mrs. Silvester, Great Clacton Vicarage, Clacton-on-Sea, Essex.

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